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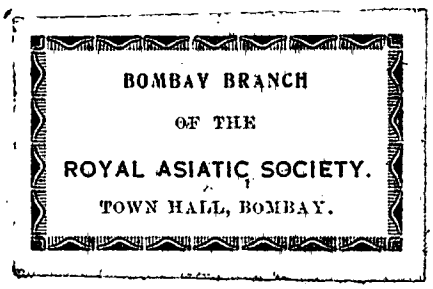

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Portrait of the Author J. S. Buckingham

in the Costume worn on his Travels

TRAVELS

IN

ASSYRIA, MEDIA, AND PERSIA,

INCLUDING A

JOURNEY FROM BAGDAD BY MOUNT ZAGROS,

TO

HAMADAN, THE ANCIENT ECBATANA,

RESEARCHES IN

ISPAHAN AND THE RUINS OF PERSEPOLIS,

AND JOURNEY FROM THENCE

BY SHIRAZ AND SHAPC R TO THE SEA-SHORE.

DESCRIPTION OF

BUSSORAH, BUSHIRE, BAHREIN, ORMUZ, AND MUSCAT,

NARRATIVE OF AN

EXPEDITION AGAINST THE PIRATES OF THE PERSIAN GULF,

WITH

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE VOYAGE OF NEARCHUS, AND PASSAGE BY THE ARABIAN SEA TO BOMBAY.

AH. b - 11

BY J. S. BUCKINGHAM,

AUTHOR OF TRAVELS IN PALESTINE AND THE COUNTRIES EAST OF THE JORDAN;
TRAVELS AMONG THE ARAB TRIBES; AND TRAVELS IN MESOPOTAMIA; MEMBER OF THE LITERARY SOCIETIES OF BOMBAY AND MADRAS, AND OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

LONDON:
HENRY COLBURN, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.
1829.

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TO

SIR CHARLES FORBES, BART. M. P.

ESPECIALLY DISTINGUISHED AS THE WARM AND STEADY FRIEND OF OUR ASIATIC FELLOW-SUBJECTS IN INDIA,

AS WELL AS THE BENEVOLENT ADVOCATE AND PROMOTER OF THE FREEDOM AND HAPPINESS OF MAN, WITHOUT DISTINCTION OF COLOUR, CASTE, OR COUNTRY,

THIS VOLUME OF TRAVELS,

COMMENCING AT BAGDAD AND TERMINATING AT BOMBAY,

IS HUMBLY INSCRIBED, AS A TRIBUTE OF GRATITUDE, ESTEEM, AND REGARD, BY HIS

FAITHFUL AND AFFECTIONATE FRIEND,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

In presenting to the Public a Fourth Volume of Travels in the Eastern World, I am not without the apprehension that this portion of my labours may be thought to have been executed with less care and attention than preceding ones. It has unquestionably been my desire, as well as my interest, to make them all equally worthy of public approbation; but the circumstances under which each of the several volumes were prepared, and over which circumstances I had no power of control, differed so materially from each other, that this alone would be sufficient to account for still greater variations in their execution than is even likely to be discovered in them. The Travels in Palestine were prepared in India, under the disadvantages of absence from books and authorities essential to their illustration; but, on the other hand, with the advantage of more complete leisure than it has ever since been my good fortune to enjoy. The Travels in the Decapolis, or Hauran, and Countries east of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, were

written out for publication entirely on ship-board, during a stormy and disagreeable passage from India, under circumstances of the most painfully oppressive nature, and the most hostile to calm and abstracted literary composition; but, on the other hand, with the advantage of freedom from all other occupation, and ample command of time, whenever the intervals of moderate weather admitted of writing. The Travels in Mesopotamia were written and arranged in London, under the disadvantage of repeated interruptions from ill-health, and the anxiety and labour dependent on the prosecution of my claims for redress of injuries done me by the Government of India, before a Parliamentary Committee; but with the advantage of a mind more at ease than it had been for seven years before: my perseverance having been just then rewarded by a complete triumph over the traducers of my personal character and literary reputation, the tribunal to which I appealed having completely vindicated all my claims, and put to shame the wickedness of my accusers. The Travels in Assyria, Media, and Persia, which form the present Volume, and complete the Series of the continuous Route followed in my overland Journey to India, have been prepared under circumstances which are probably without a parallel in the history of literary undertakings, and may at least excuse many imperfections, which, under other and more favourable auspices, could not claim such indulgence. The favourable reception given to the previous Volumes, and the natural desire to have the Series completed by the publication of the present, combined to urge its early appearance: but being, at the period of commencing its preparation for the

press, almost incessantly occupied, by having in my own hands the Editorship of a Daily and a Weekly Political Journal, the Argus, and the Sphynx,—and of a Weekly and a Monthly Literary Journal, the Athenæum, and the Oriental Herald,—I could only hope to accomplish the task of bringing out this Volume, in a manner at all worthy of acceptance, by devoting a portion of those hours which are ordinarily given to recreation and repose, to the labour which such an undertaking involved. This resolution was accordingly made, and has been at length faithfully redeemed; for I may truly say, that not a single page of it has been written, arranged, corrected, or revised, but after the hours at which even the most studious generally repair to their couch, to recruit by sleep the exhaustion of the labours of the day.

That, under the circumstances described, errors of style and defects of arrangement should appear, will not be deemed wonderful; and that, under other circumstances, the task might have been more satisfactorily executed, cannot admit of doubt. But, when it is not possible to do all we desire, and in the very best manner we could wish, it is better to endeavour to execute our duty in the best manner that we are able, than altogether to abandon the attempt as impracticable. It is on this maxim, at least, that I have acted; and it is rather in extenuation of imperfections, which this necessarily brings in its train, than from any other motive, that I have ventured at all to allude to the subject. It will complete the picture of hurried and interrupted composition, if I state, what is literally the fact, that having left London on business of some import-

ance, which called me to cross the Channel to Guernsey, and being driven back by tempestuous weather, in the Watersprite, which made an ineffectual attempt to accomplish the passage, and, though one of the finest steam-packets in the service, was obliged to bear up, and anchor again in Weymouth Roads at midnight, I am now writing this Preface, in the Travellers' Room of the Crown Inn, at Melcombe Regis, with an animated conversation passing all around me among the enquiring and intelligent fellow-passengers who are occupants of the same apartment. Having pledged myself to the Publisher, to finish every part of my task before a given day, this cannot be deferred till my return, and is therefore thus hurriedly completed: but it is at least in keeping with the whole picture, that a Work begun amidst the conflicting duties and labours of four separate and voluminous Journals, already described, should be terminated by a hasty sketch like this, in the interval of a stormy passage by sea, and in the momentary expectation of seeing the signal for immediate re-embarkation displayed.

I cannot conclude, however, even this imperfect address, without saying a word or two on the subject of the Illustrations, and the typographical execution of the Work. To Colonel Johnson, of the East India Company's Engineers, I am indebted for the beautiful View of Muscat, which was painted by Witherington, from a sketch of Colonel Johnson's, and engraved by Jeavons, on a reduced scale, for Mr. Pringle's Annual, 'The Friendship's Offering,' a copy of which Colonel Johnson kindly permitted me to take. To the same friend I am also indebted for a View of the Entrance to the Harbour of Bombay, with

the several characteristic features of a trankee, a peculiar kind of boat; fishing-stakes, marking the boundaries of certain banks, secured from general navigation; and a fisherman on a catamaran, a rude raft, of three logs of wood, encountering and killing a sword-fish, larger than himself and his raft together; all of which are accurate delineations of real and natural objects seen at Bombay, but which, by some irremediable oversight, has been placed at the head of the Chapter descriptive of Bussorah, on the Euphrates, the chief port of the Persian Gulf. To the kindness of my friend, Mr. James Baillie Frazer, the intelligent author of a Tour in the Himalya Mountains, and a Journey in Khorassan, I owe the two interesting views of the Ruins of Persepolis seen under the aspect of an approaching storm, and the Ruins of Ormuz, with its sweeping bay of anchorage. With these exceptions, the Illustrations of the Volume, to the number of twenty-six, are from original sketches of the scenes and objects described, taken in the course of the journey, and completed from descriptions noted on the spot. The manner in which these have all been drawn on the wood by Mr. W. H. Brooke, and in which the greater part of them have been executed by the respective engravers, whose names appear in the list, is such as, I hope, will confirm the established reputation of the artists themselves, at the same time that they cannot fail to gratify as well as to instruct the reader. The typography, which is from the press of Messrs. S. and R. Bentley, may fairly challenge a comparison for beauty with the production of any press in the kingdom.

The introduction of an engraved Portrait has been done prin-

cipally with a view of showing the costume in which the greater part of the Journey described in the present Volume was performed. This has been so frequently the subject of enquiry by those who felt an interest in knowing all the details of my Travels, and the circumstances under which they were performed, that, having such a sketch in my possession, I considered it likely to interest some, and offend none; and therefore readily consented to its being appended to the Work in its present form.

And now, having said thus much in indication of what I am sure will be admitted as merits, being the production of other hands; and in extenuation of what I am ready to admit as defects, being the production of my own; I commend these hurried labours to the indulgent spirit of my intelligent countrymen; sincerely wishing them perpetual exemption from all the privations and inconveniences which they will find detailed in the ensuing pages, and which are inseparable from travelling in countries so far removed from our own in habits, manners, and usages, as well as in geographical distance; and assuring them, that if the performance of these journeys occasioned me more suffering than I should again be willing to undergo, the retrospect affords me a continual and inexhaustible source of agreeable associations; and that I shall consider myself amply rewarded for all I have undergone, if I have the happiness to find that the humble record of whatever I may have deemed worthy of observation in other countries, may be thought to deserve the approbation of the enquiring and intellectual classes in my own.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

Weymouth, Nov. 16th, 1828.

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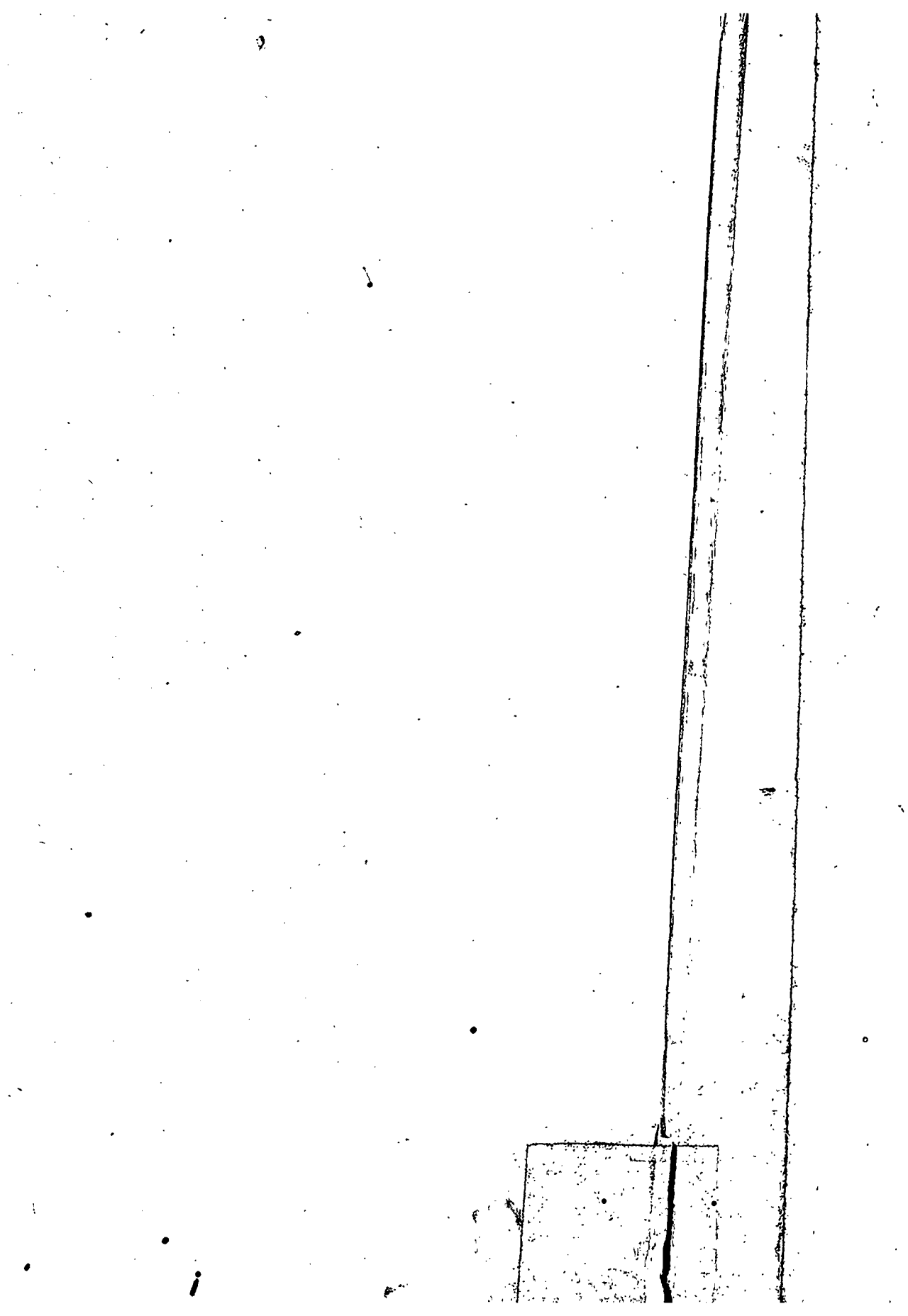

GENERAL MAP OF PERSIA,
with the Routes pursued by
Mr. BUCKINGHAM
In his Travels from Bagdad along the Mountains of Zagros,
THROUGH ASSYRIA, MEDIA & PERSIA,
including the chief positions of all the
ANCIENT CITIES & MODERN TOWNS,
From the Banks of the Tigris
to the
SHORES of the PERSIAN GULF.
TURKISH EMPIRE
KOURDISTAN
ARABIA
KHUZISTAN
PERSIA
KHORASAN
KERMAN
MEKRAN
Great Salt Desert
Desert of Kerman
Persian Gulf
Bushkurd
Montsidge
London, Published by Henry Colburn, New Publication Street, Dec. 1st 1827

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CHAPTER I.

FROM BAGDAD, ACROSS THE DIALA, TO KESRABAD OR DASTAGHERD.

After my journey from Aleppo to Bagdad, by a circuitous route through Mesopotamia, a severe fever, followed by extreme exhaustion, rendered repose more than usually agreeable to me: and I was fortunate in finding, in the ancient City of the Caliphs, all the comforts of an English home, in the house of the British Resident, Mr. Rich, and the society of his amiable family. My course being directed to India, enquiries had been made as to the comparative facilities of prosecuting the remainder of my way to "the further East," by descending the Tigris and Euphrates to Bussorah, and going from thence on ship-board down the Persian Gulf, or accompanying some caravan into Persia by land, and passing through Kermanshah, Hamadan, Ispahan, and

Shiraz to Bushire, where vessels for Bombay were always to be found. After much consideration, the latter course was adopted, as being, on the whole, more favourable to certainty and expedition, as well as attended with the advantage of a better climate, which, considering my state of debility from previous suffering, and the intense heat of the season that still prevailed, was a matter of the first importance. The last days of my stay at Bagdad were therefore passed in making preparations for the further prosecution of my Eastern journey by this route.

SEPT. 3rd.—We had been put off, from day to day, with assurances of a Persian Ambassador's being about to return to Teheran, in whose train we might make a safe entry into Persia. He had performed his pilgrimage to the tombs of Ali and Hossein, as well as to that of Imâm Moosa, near Bagdad, and now only wanted the permission of the Pasha to commence his journey homeward. This had been promised him at every morning's divan, so that we waited to set out with him. It was now publicly signified, however, that as some of the troops of his Sovereign were at this moment in Koordistan, supporting intrigues among the Pashas who are nominally dependent on Bagdad, he could not be suffered to depart from hence until news should reach of these troops having been withdrawn.

A large party of Persian pilgrims, who had been waiting, with ourselves, for many days, to profit by this occasion, for the sake of protection, now determined therefore to set out without it, and rely on their own strength for defence. We began accordingly to prepare for our journey, as I had determined to delay no longer, but to accompany them.

The future companion of my way was an Afghan Dervish, named Hadjee Ismael,—one who, besides his own tongue, understood Persian, Turkish, and Arabic, was of a cheerful temper, well known on the road, and neither so impudent nor so ignorant

as most of those who belong to his class. He was acknowledged to be one of the first engravers on stone in all the East, and had executed some seals and rings for Mr. Rich, which were finer than any this gentleman had seen even in Constantinople.

With a very ordinary degree of industry and application, this man might have acquired a moderate share of wealth; but, in becoming a Dervish he had followed the strong bent of his natural inclination,—whch was to renounce the sordid cares of this world, to live a life of indolence and pleasure, and to move from place to place for the sake of that variety of incident and character which he loved to meet and to observe.

Such a companion was in many respects very congenial to my wishes; and what rendered him more so in this particular instance was, that it was his own desire that I should pass with him as a Mussulman, under the name of Hadjee Abdallah, ibn Suliman, min Massr: i. e. "The Pilgrim Abdallah, (the Slave of God,) the Son of Solomon, from Egypt." He had even engraved a ring for me with this name on it, offered to assist me in reading the Koran, and to become my voucher on all occasions, provided I would constantly support the character of a Mohammedan, and state myself to be an Arab of Egypt, since that was still the accent of my Arabic, and that the country with which I was most familiar.

The disadvantages of such a companion were only these;—that I should be obliged on all occasions to be my own groom, cook, and servant; and on some occasions perhaps his also, from our being so completely on a level; but for all this I was well prepared by long previous discipline.

The horses on which we rode were both my own, with all else that belonged to them, as I wished to be as independent as possible of assistance. My papers, money, and all articles on which I set any value, were carried in a pair of khordj, or small haircloth bags across my own saddle; and the rest of the baggage,

consisting only of a change of linen for myself, a coffee-pot, and tobacco bag, carpets, &c., for our joint use, were carried beneath the Dervish.

My own dress was that of an Arab of the middling class, and my arms a good lance of fifteen feet long, a pair of pistols, and a Damascus sword. Ismael wore also an Arab dress with which I had provided him, and was armed with a Persian sword and an English musket.

During my stay at Bagdad, I had collected together such notes for my journey as Mr. Rich's library and my own intervals of health would allow me to arrange; and by that gentleman I was furnished with letters for the governors of the great towns, in the event of my needing them; so that every preparation had been made to render our journey both secure and agreeable.

At El-Assr, the hour of prayer between noon and sunset, all was ready for our departure, and the moment came in which I was required to take a painful leave of the individuals in whose society I had been of late so happy. As it is impossible for me to praise in adequate terms the warm and generous behaviour of every member of that circle towards me during my stay, so it is in vain to attempt a description of my own feelings in quitting them: they were as poignant as I ever remember them on any similar occasion, for there are few people for whom I ever felt more of affection mingled with respect, after so short a period of acquaintance, than for Mr. and Mrs. Rich.

We quitted Bagdad by the gate of Imâm Azam, so called from its leading to the tomb of that saint, who is venerated as the chief of the Hanefies, and whose mausoleum is about an hour's ride to the north of the city. This was the gate by which I entered on my arrival here; and being in the N. E. quarter of Bagdad, it is the principal point of arrival and departure for all the great roads on the east side of the Tigris.

We found a small caravan, composed of about fifty persons, and as many animals, in horses, mules, and asses, but no camels;

assembled without the gate, and preparing to load. As their departure would be delayed, however, until muggrib, the hour of prayer at sunset, we spread our carpets amidst the crowd, and sat patiently down to await their movements.

I was accompanied thus far by Mr. Rich's Armenian dragoman, and the Persian secretary of the Residency, who were charged to see me safely off. The chiefs of the caravan were then introduced to me; and as I was by far the best-dressed and best-mounted individual of the whole company, excepting only those who were of my own party, the Persians thought themselves sufficiently honoured by sitting beside the Hadjee Aga, the "Sir Pilgrim," as I was called, receiving with great respect my pipe and coffee when offered to them, and enquiring earnestly about Egypt and the City of the Prophet.

In all my journeys, I never remember to have seen such shabby, old, infirm, ill-dressed, ill-equipped, and helpless persons as these fifty or sixty pilgrims with whom I was going to set out on a road acknowledged to be a dangerous one. They had all been absent from Persia several months, on a pilgrimage to the tombs of Imâm Ali and Hossein; visiting also that of Imâm Moosa, near Bagdad, and of another Imâm at Samarra, the city so celebrated in the history of the Caliphs, and whose remains are still considerable on the banks of the Tigris, two days' journey from hence.

None of them, however, had reached as far as Mecca. In the journeys which they had already performed, they had most of them been routed and plundered two or three times by the Arabs of the Desert; and many of them had lost their companions by fatigue and sickness. The numbers carried off in this way are indeed considerable; for, of the retinue of an Indian widow and her son, who came through Persia to Bussorah, twenty or thirty had died on their way to Bagdad, by the river; and advices had been received from Mecca, of the rest having been taken off on the road across the Desert, and in the country of the Hedjaz itself.

It must require a degree of superstitious attachment to a

religion, difficult to conceive, to induce such crowds of all classes to run, from year to year, the imminent risks, which the performance of these journeys involves. The reason assigned by most of the Persians of the caravan whom we questioned, for not going to Mecca, was the inadequacy of their means, after being plundered and stripped; and this seemed plausible enough: but there were not wanting many among them who seemed to think the Caaba, the sacred temple at Mecca, an object of less veneration than the tomb of the Prophet at Medina, or than those of the Caliphs and Imâms already enumerated;—in the same manner as by the lower order of Greeks Saint George is equally esteemed with the Messiah himself, and the Virgin Mary ranked quite as high as her unbegotten Son with the same class of Catholics.

The dresses of our Persian companions were of the ordinary fashion of their country, consisting of a long robe made tight about the arms and waist, the latter being long and slender, the lower part of the robe representing a full petticoat, the breast covered by a thin and coarse shirt, and the head-dress consisting of a conical cap of black sheep-skin. Their horses were of the worst kind imaginable, and their arms and caparisons were suitably mean. It was asserted, and I believe with great truth, that five well-mounted Arabs of the Desert had arrested and deliberately plundered as large a party of Persian pilgrims as this; and it was even admitted by the people of the caravan themselves, that ten good horsemen of the Beni Lam tribe would be more than a match for all their party!

Among them were some women, whose veils struck me as peculiar; these wore the blue chequered cloth mantle of the Bagdad females; but instead of the black horse-hair covering for the face, they had a large white cotton veil tied round the head like those of Egypt; and instead of the eyes being shown through two large holes, as in that country, there was a small grating window, of about three inches in length by two in depth, placed between

the eyes and in the centre of the veil, apparently made of stout threads crossing each other with wide intervals between them.

The men looked altogether like a tribe of Polish Jews, or old clothesmen, mounted and armed for some temporary expedition of robbery and plunder; and the women partook of all their meanness of appearance, without making, however, the same show of arms to conceal their cowardice.

At muggrib, or sunset, three separate parties of these women performed their prayers in public, spreading a cloak on the ground in the usual way, but still remaining covered. Whether they performed their previous ablutions above the ankles and elbows as the men, I did not perceive, as I saw them only after they had begun. It was the first time of my ever having seen women pray thus publicly in a crowd, or thus encumbered with their veils and outer envelope; and this last circumstance sufficiently embarrassed them in making the prescribed genuflections.

We were not all in movement until the sun had completely set, and yielded up his empire to the milder queen of night.* The course we took was about north-east by north, for the first three hours, which led us over a bare plain of fine earthy soil, wanting only water to render it fertile. Over this were so many tracks of animals that we got twice into a wrong path, at this short distance only from Bagdad.

At the end of about three hours, we reached a small building near a well, which produces, in the winter only, a scanty supply of brackish water. This is called "Orta Bir," a compound of Turkish and Arabic, signifying "the half-way well," from an idea that it is just midway between Bagdad and the first caravanserai to the east of it. There were here many mounds which appeared to be of fine earth, and formed perhaps the sides of channels

* One must travel in the parched deserts of the East, to feel the full force of the contrast between the burning day and gentle night, and to understand the Oriental admiration of the moon and stars.

for filling the well with rain-water; but as we had seen near this several small heaps, with a few scattered bricks in the way, there might possibly have been buildings of some description or other along it. The people of the country, indeed, have a singular traditionary notion, that all the plain from the Tigris to the mountains was once covered by the great city of Cûfa, of which they know perfectly well the name and the celebrity, but seemingly little else. The ruins of the city are thought to be recognised on the other side of the river to the west, below Bagdad.

From the well, our course went nearly a point more northerly; and after going for two hours on a similar road, we reached the khan, or caravanserai, called also "Orta Khan," from an idea of its being midway between Bagdad and Bakouba. The khan appeared to be small, and built of bricks. A few huts were seen near it, and the barking of dogs showed these to be inhabited; but as we passed through, leaving the dwellings on our right, and the khan on our left, without alighting, we saw none of the people of the place.

We had hitherto travelled in very straggling order; and the Persians often sang some popular song, which drew forth at intervals loud shouts in chorus; but as the moon declined, we marched in closer order, and all was more silent, evidently from fear.

We continued from hence on a line of about north-east, for four hours, without any prospect to break the monotony of the road; when, as the Pleiades, Aldebaran, Orion's Belt, and Jupiter, formed altogether a splendid train in the eastern heavens, and were shining with unusual brilliance, the first blush of day appeared, and we began to discern some thick groves of palm-trees before us, and soon afterwards came on the banks of the Diala.

The river was flowing here in a deep but narrow bed, from north to south, though below this it turned off about south-south-westerly. The western bank of the stream was the steepest, and

represented a cliff of stratified earth in horizontal lines, about fifty feet in height. The river itself seemed scarcely of greater breadth than this, and, excepting some deep water near the western shore, we forded it easily. The water was sweet and clear, and the rate of the stream little more than a mile per hour. From hence, when the day more clearly broke, we obtained the first sight of a range of low hills to the eastward of us, distant apparently from thirty to forty miles, their general direction seeming to be from north-west to south-east, and their outlines smooth. Ascending the eastern shore, which was thickly covered with palms, we went for about a quarter of an hour east, and then turning to the left, entered some lanes between garden-walls of mud, which led us into Bakouba, where the caravan dispersed, and we ourselves alighted at a public khan.

Sept. 4th.—When the necessary duties of the day had been completed, and we had fed and reposed, we strolled together around the place. It is a large straggling village, formed of mud-built dwellings, gardens, date-grounds, &c. all intermingled, with a poor bazar and two small mosques. The inhabitants do not exceed two thousand, all of whom are Arabs, and nearly half of these Sheeahs or of the Persian sect. The place is under the command of Yusef Aga, who is dependent on Assad Pasha of Bagdad; its produce is purely agricultural, and this very scanty.

The old city of Bakouba is well known in Mohammedan history; but this was much farther eastward. De Sacy, in his Memoirs on the Antiquities of Persia, says: "There are two Bakoubas,—one at the extremity of the province of Nahrvan, the other only ten parasangs, or ten leagues, from Bagdad,"* which last he thinks to be the *Aakoubé* of Thevenot.† The distance seems very accurate, as we had been full nine hours in performing it, and, being all lightly laden, had gone somewhat more than three miles an hour.

* Page 363, 4to. Paris.

† Thevenot, vol. iii. p. 215.

The language of the village is Arabic, though Turkish is understood by many, and Persian and Koordish by a few.

From all the enquiries which I made of the people here respecting the source of the Diala, I could learn nothing definite. All agreed that it arose in the mountains of Koordistan, and the most general distance assigned to it was three days' journey to the north-east. No one knew of any tributary stream flowing into it from the west of its main body, though all spoke of several small ones joining it from the east, which, it was said, we should cross on our road.

At sunset we prepared to depart, and when the twilight was just closed we were all in march. Our course lay nearly east for the first hour, when the road wound to the north-east, going constantly over a bare plain of hard and dry earth. It had once been intersected by canals; over the mounds, and through the beds of which, we often passed; and many parts of the low levels still retained traces of being recently watered, which was said to be only by the rains of winter lodging here.

We had gone from the winding of the road, about three hours on a north-east course, when we came to the bank of a canal, now full, leading from an arm of the Diala, and watering a portion of the land through which it flowed. We kept along the western edge of this in a northerly direction: the ground here, however, was covered with a thorny shrub, and uncultivated; but on the east were several scattered hamlets, and the barking of dogs announced the existence of living beings there; while such patches of cultivated land as we could indistinctly see by the light of the moon, offered a momentary relief to the general monotony of our way.

An alarm was now spread, from the rear of our caravan, of an attack, and several muskets were fired, though they could scarcely be heard amidst the general outcry and uproar which prevailed. When the explanation came, it appeared to have been only four or

five peasants on foot who had occasioned all this panic,—an accident which gave us no favourable impression of the coolness or courage of our numerous party.

In another hour we reached the stream from which this canal led, over which we crossed, by a steep and high bridge of one arch. The stream itself appeared to me an artificial one, as it ran slowly between steep banks like mounds, and was not more than twenty yards wide. It was called Nahr el Shahraban; it came from the north, and was said to go into the Diala, south of Bakouba, having small canals leading off from it in the way. From this bridge was seen on the left of us, distant less than half a mile to the westward of the road, some palm-trees rising from a village called Aghwashek. This was originally the retreat of a dozen Fakeers, who lived here in indolence on the charities of devout passengers; but their easy way of life having attracted others of the same class about them, the settlement has increased, and now contains about five hundred persons, chiefly of the original description.

From the bridge, our course went again north-easterly, and in about an hour from thence we reached the town of Shahraban, which we entered through mud-walled lanes and dusty roads, just as the moon was setting; and with some difficulty, at this unseasonable hour, found our way to a khan.

SEPT. 5th.—The village of Shahraban is composed, like that of Bakouba, of scattered brick dwellings, some few regular streets, and mud-walled gardens and palm-grounds. It has one mosque with a well-built minaret, and two khans, but nothing else worthy of notice. Some canals from the branch of the Diala, which we crossed over by the one-arched bridge an hour before entering Shahraban, run through the town itself, and supply the inhabitants with water for their daily use, as well as the peasantry for cultivation. The population may be estimated at about two thousand five hundred, of whom two-thirds are Soonnees, and the remainder

Sheeahs, there being neither Jews nor Christians here. The language is Turkish, though Arabic is still understood, and the Aga of the place is subject to Bagdad.*

In the course of the day, information having being brought us of the road to the next town being unsafe from some predatory Arabs having taken up a position near it, our intended departure at night was postponed until the following morning, that we might the better see such of our enemies as might attempt to obstruct our way.

In my enquiries about the towns of Mendeli and Ghilan, I could obtain no very precise data for fixing their positions, as there were no high-roads from hence to either of them.

Mendeli is described as a large town containing about six thousand inhabitants, Turks, Arabs, and Koords, the language of the former chiefly prevailing: it is three days' journey from Bagdad, to the south-eastward.

Ghilan is the name of a district of some extent, reaching to the foot of the mountains of Louristan: its chief town is called Boksye, and contains about two thousand inhabitants, chiefly Arabs. This is also three days' journey from Bagdad, in nearly an eastern direction.†

* This town is thought to be the site of the ancient Apollonia, which communicated its name to a particular canton. — *See D'Anville's Ancient Geography,* vol. ii. p. 469, *English Edit.* 8vo. *London,* 1791.

† In the march of Alexander from Susa to Ecbatana, it is said that he marched to the towns called Celonæ, which was therefore then the name of a district as well as at present. It was in this place, says the historian, that the posterity of the Beotians settled themselves in the time of Xerxes's expedition, and there remain to this day, having altogether forgot the laws of their country. For they use a double language, one learnt from the natural inhabitants, and in the other they preserve much of the Greek tongue, and observe some of their laws and customs. Thence, when it grew towards evening, he turned aside and marched to Bagistames to view the country. This country abounds in all manner of fruit-trees, and whatever else either conduces to the profit or pleasure of mankind, so as it seems to be a place of delight both for gods and men. Afterwards he came into a country that breeds and pastures an innumerable company of horses:

As this district had been celebrated in antiquity for its pastures and its horses, I was inquisitive from those who had been all over it as to what state the country was now in, and whether its horses were still thought superior to all others.* It appears that the whole of the plain, from Boksye to the mountains, is possessed by a tribe of Arabs, called the Beni Lam, who are thought to have twenty thousand heads of families, and are all Sheeahs, like the Persians. The extensive tract over which they roam is now mostly desert, no doubt from the neglect of the canals by which it was formerly watered: their horses, however, are still esteemed as excellent, and inferior to none but those of the Nedjed Arabs and the Turcomans.†

The whole of the tract from Bagdad to Shahraban is now called Arudth-el-Cûsa, from a tradition that it was once all occupied either by that city or by numerous settlements dependent on it.

At sunset, we all moved up to the terrace of the khan, to pray, to sup, and to spread our beds in a cooler and purer air than we could breathe below. The view from hence, where the

for they say that there had been here an hundred and sixty thousand horses that ran at pasture up and down the country; but at the coming of Alexander there were only sixty thousand. He encamped here for the space of thirty days. *Diodorus Siculus*, b. 17, c. 11.

* From the plains in which these horses were bred, it was a march of seven days to Ecbatana. (Septimus deinde castris Ecbatana attigit Mediæ caput.)—*Freinshemius Supplement to Quintus Curtius*, vol. ii. p. 547.

† In describing this district, Major Rennel says: "Between Ghilanee and Kermanshah are the celebrated pastures of the Nisæan horses. This country of Media was the cradle of the Persian power, for the Medes held the sovereignty of Asia previous to the Persians: it produced a hardy race of men as well as horses. Nisæus was a *district* in Media, remarkable for these last, as Ghilan is the name of the district still. The chariot of Xerxes was drawn by these animals, and the sacred horses in the procession were Nisæan (Polymnia 40). Alexander gave a Nisæan horse to Calanus, to carry him to the funeral pile. The King of Partha sacrificed one to the Sun, when Apollonia of Tyana visited his court, and Masistius rode a Nisæan horse at the decisive battle of Platæa. The Nisæan pastures are spoken of in Diodorus, lib. 7, c. 2, and in Arrian, lib. 7.—*See Rennel's Illustrations of the Geography of Herodotus*, 4to. p. 268.

country was at all visible through the palm-trees, was one level and desert plain,* in which the sun set at W. by N.¾ N. by compass, and the moon succeeded without an interval of twilight.

SEPT. 6th.—We were in motion before the moon had set; and just as the day broke we quitted the town, when the sun greeted our departure as he rose from behind the blue ridge of hills immediately before us.

Our march was directed to the east-north-east, over a plain somewhat less bare than that which we had traversed during the two preceding days, and having tobacco and dourra growing in several parts of it. Camels were also feeding in the neighbourhood, and were the first that we had seen since leaving Bagdad. These signs of life and activity were entirely owing to the presence of water, of which we crossed several small canals and one large one, with rushes on its banks. The whole of the low country indeed, on both sides of the Tigris and the Euphrates, wants only the irrigation which could be so easily given it by canals from these rivers, to render it as fertile as Egypt or the river-lands of China: but in the absence of this, as the heats are excessive, and little rain falls even in the winter, the whole has fallen by neglect into general barrenness.

In an hour after quitting Shahraban, we came to the main stream from which the smaller ones of the plain were derived, and crossed it by a brick bridge of a single arch. This is called

* The Nisean horses are placed by Ammianus Marcellinus in the plains of a fertile country of Assyria, on the western side of a high mountain called Corone. This is evidently a part of a chain called Zagros, Orontes, and Jason, in the same place; and Corone is written perhaps Clone, the name of the district where these horses were bred.—*Amm. Mar.* book xxiii. c. 6. vol. ii. pp. 269, 270. Ecbatana is placed at the foot of Mount Jason, which is the same therefore with Orontes. b. xxiii. c. xvi. p. 273. It was in the march of Alexander from Opis on the Tigris, through Celonæ, (which place Xerxes had peopled with a colony of Beotians, who still retained some of their native language,) and on his way towards Ecbatana, that he is said to have viewed the field wherein the King's horses used to graze, which Herodotus calls Nisæum, and the horses Nisæan, and where, in former times, 150,000 were wont to feed, though Alexander found not more than 50,000 there, most of the rest having been stolen away.—*Arrian's Hist. of Alexander's Expedition*, b. vii. c. 13. vol. ii. p. 150.

Nahr-el-Khan-e-Keen, from its rising near a place of that name farther on in our road, and it goes from hence into the Diala, discharging itself to the southward of the branch which we crossed yesterday. Like this, however, its stream is not more than twenty yards wide, its current slow, and its bed lying deep between two steep banks covered with rushes.

From hence, we continued nearly the same course as before, and in another hour reached the foot of a ridge of sandstone-hills, called Jebel-el-Shahraban. It seemed to be the only practicable pass through them to which our road led, and even this was not an easy one. The ascent was very gentle, over a gravelly road; but, from the soft nature of the rock, several narrow passages had been worn, which barely admitted of a horse going through, and forbade the passage of a laden mule. Masses of the rock, the layers of which were generally oblique to the horizon, had also fallen, and obstructed some points of the way; so that, few as our numbers were, great confusion prevailed. This was increased, too, by the general alarm which was felt, as it was here that the road was considered the most dangerous, from its being favourable to any small party obstructing it.

Accordingly the bravest and the lightest of the troop ascended the points of the hills to reconnoitre, and fired their muskets as a signal of defiance. As all these were of the match-lock kind throughout our company, excepting only the one which my Dervish carried, the matches were all lighted; but though we were thus fully prepared to repel an attack, it was evident that every one advanced with fear and trembling.

In half an hour we gained the summit of the hills, from whence we could see the plain to the eastward of them before us; and, as this appeared to be clear of wanderers, a shout of joy was set up, thus giving vent to fear, as tears are found to afford a momentary relief to sorrow.

The line of these hills stretched generally from north-north-west to south-south-east, and their highest point did not appear to

reach a thousand feet above the level of the plain below. From their summits, which were every where rocky and barren, we saw before us other more lofty ones, at the distance of fifty or sixty miles, half obscured in a blue haze.

The whole passage of these hills, from our leaving the western till our descending on the eastern plain, occupied little more than an hour; and from thence we still went on about east-north-east, towards the town of Kesrabad, now in sight before us, at the distance of six or seven miles.

We found this portion of the plain watered also by small channels from the Nahr-el-Khan-e-Keen; and several parcels of land were laid out in dourra, and in cotton plants, both of them now in verdure, it being the spring of the second harvest.

We were met here by three horse Arabs, who had the hardihood to make up towards us at full speed, brandishing their lances for attack. Two of the Persian horsemen, with their match-locks, and myself, with a long spear of their own kind, rode off at a gallop to meet them, and, firing a pistol in the air as we approached, ordered them to stand. We neared each other very cautiously, as the caravan was still half a mile behind, each having his eyes fixed on his man, in all the suspicion and watchfulness of actual combat, each with his arms ready-balanced for the stroke, and the warmed and conscious horses fretting under a tightened curb, and seeming to upbraid our lingering, by their impatience for the fray. At length, after some harsh words, the "Salam Alaikum" was exchanged, our arms were dropped with caution on each side, and our opponents withdrawing the covering from their faces (which they always wear across it when rushing on to the attack, to prevent their being recognized in cases of blood-revenge), they gave us a signal of submission and peace, and thus the matter ended.

In addressing themselves to me as an Arab, which every part of my dress and accoutrements bespoke me to be, they were exceedingly inquisitive as to the object of my journey eastward, and wondered at my prompt appearance at the head of a troop of Ajamees

or Persians, of whom they spoke openly with the greatest contempt. The Persian soldiers, who understood enough of this to be offended at it, now began to be insolent in their turn, as the coming up of the whole caravan during this parley, gave them an additional motive to boldness.

For myself, I proposed that as we had taken these three men in the very act of an attack upon us, and as they scrupled not to avow their motives, we should make them prisoners, and take them on to the next town, to deliver them up for punishment. All, however, agreed that this would be a certain way of involving the next caravan in the most imminent danger, since the whole tribe of Mujummah, to which they belonged, would not fail to revenge, upon the next body of Persians that passed, the injuries thus done to children of their tents. The soldiers, however, growing more insolent, as the crowd thickened behind them, drove the Arabs off the road, by pushing their horses with the muzzles of their long muskets, and imprecations and abuse passed with equal freedom on either side; while the dastardly crowd, who had witnessed all at a very safe distance, now shouted in triumph at the poor defeat of three individuals, whom they had not the courage to seize and punish.

Such being the usual result of cases like this, it can hardly be wondered at that the roads here are not safe. A party of idle Arabs, having nothing better to do, as their wives and children tend their flocks, and perform the duties of their camp, mount on horseback, and cross over the great highways of the country. If they descry a party who are too few in numbers or too deficient in spirit to resist their attack, some gain at least is certain. But should they be unexpectedly checked in their career, no risk is run by the attempt, as they are permitted to gallop off, and direct their course in some other direction for a more successful foray.*

* The power of the desert horse to endure privation and fatigue is quite extraordinary; and must always have been remarkable, to have given rise to the extravagant opinions entertained on that subject in antiquity. Among others, Pliny says:—"The Sarmatians, when

We continued our way in closer march than before, and after crossing many small streams and pools of water, with some huts of rushes inhabited by Mujummah Arabs, we approached toward the town of Kesrabad, entering it about eleven o'clock, two hours and a half from the eastern foot of the hills we had crossed, and about five and a half from our leaving Shahraban; so that its distance may be from eighteen to twenty miles east-north-east of that place.

As we remained here the whole of the day, I had an opportunity of seeing more of the place during a sun-set walk. Like the stations through which we had already passed, this abounded in palm-trees. The town was larger than either of the preceding ones, and contained about a thousand dwellings, and three thousand stationary inhabitants. The houses are all small, and built of mud, with brick door-ways in front; they are more closely placed, however, than in the villages before-mentioned, and assume the form of regular streets, in one of which is a public bazar and two khans.

In the southern quarter of the town is a rising ground, on which the houses are elevated, so as to be seen farther off than those standing entirely on the plain. To the east of the town is a similar hill converted into a burial-ground, and on the north are extensive gardens enclosed.

The grounds in the neighbourhood are all artificially watered by canals from the Nahr-el-Khan-e-Keen; and dates, and melons, pomegranates, and gourds are abundant.

The language of the people is altogether Turkish, and they are all Soonnees. Two mosques were spoken of, though I saw but one, and this was meanly built and without a minaret. The town is subject to Bagdad, and the support of its population is drawn from the culture of the lands, and the supply of caravans halting between Persia and Arabia on this route.

they were about to make a great journey, prepared their horses two days before by giving them no meat at all, and allowing them only a little drink; and thus it was said, they were enabled to gallop them one hundred and fifty miles an end, without drawing in their bridles."—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* b. 8, p. 42.

SEPT. 7th.—The wind from the eastern hills was cold and piercing during the night; and as I slept on the house-top or terrace, exposed to its full force, and without a covering, I felt myself severely affected by its influence.

I had arisen and armed myself, however, before the day broke, and stirred my Dervish from his sleep, under the belief of the caravan setting out at an early hour, as yesterday. But when our horses were saddled, and some few others had followed our example under the same persuasion as ourselves, we were surprised to find the major part of our company still snoring at their ease, and some few others who were awake making no preparations to be gone. On enquiry, our surprise was heightened to learn that it was not intended to move to-day, as they had heard news of troubles on the road. Daood Effendi, the Dufterdar of the Pasha of Bagdad, had, it was said, come out of the city, and putting himself at the head of five thousand troops previously prepared by his agent, had set up the standard of rebellion, and intended taking the city from his former master, without attempting to offer any plea of excuse for such treachery, as in these countries power is tacitly acknowledged to constitute right, however much the contrary doctrine may be preached by those who feel their own weakness.

It was not easy to see how this could affect the safety of the roads to the eastward of us, but it was thought to do so by the timid pilgrims, and this was sufficient to spread a panic among all the rest who were bound that way; for though, on our arising, there were several preparing to depart, and we had offered to join them if they would go on, yet there was not at last one individual who would start with us, and we were therefore obliged to yield to the delay.

My indisposition made me sufficiently indolent; notwithstanding which, however, being without a book or a companion, my Dervish having already given himself up to such pleasures as the town afforded, the time hung heavily upon me. When I caught

him for half an hour, near noon, I prevailed on him to write me some Persian words with their Arabic relative ones opposite to them in a small blank book; so that I now began to learn a language of which I yet knew nothing, through the medium of one which, however fluently I could express myself in it, was equally new to me as a written one.

From the time that I had been travelling among different races of people speaking Arabic, my proficiency might indeed have been much greater than it really was at this moment; but I had never yet enjoyed sufficient repose at any one time or place to apply myself to the study of it grammatically; and from the great variety of dialects into which this language is divided, both as to the words themselves, and the manner of pronouncing them, in Egypt, Arabia Proper, Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia, I had found it difficult even to follow up these changes, for the mere purpose of expressing my wants in such a way as not to betray myself to be a stranger.

The Koran which the Dervish had procured for me in Bagdad, and which he had promised to instruct me in reading during the leisure intervals of our way, had been already stolen from me by some of the holy personages of our pilgrim-train. It was of the smallest size that could be had, yet perfectly legible, from being well written; it had cost me sixty piastres, and was admirably adapted to my purpose. It was contained in an appropriate case, which I wore by my side during the day, and at night placed it with such other things as were immediately under my own charge beneath my head. As I had been seen looking into it at different times by several of our party, it had no doubt attracted the cupidity of one more pious than the rest, who might have consoled his conscience for the theft, by devoutly regarding the holiness of the prize as a sufficient excuse for the stealing it. Illogical and senseless as such reasoning may appear to those who view things through an unprejudiced medium, it is nevertheless that which is often found among religious Mohammedans, where the cause

of God and his Prophet has been supported by persecution and oppression; and in the East, as well as in the West, devotion and dishonesty are thus often found to go hand in hand.

On the discovery of my loss, strict enquiry was made about it, but without leading to restoration; for we were not sufficiently strong to insist on searching the baggage of the suspected, nor sufficiently rich to bribe the proper officer for this duty; so that no hope remained of our recovering the stolen Scripture.

During the day, we heard of a place near this having been already attacked by Arabs, on the news of the state of things at Bagdad; and so many particulars were given in the details of this affair, that we could not refuse it credit. A few hours afterwards, however, a caravan arriving here from the eastward contradicted the report, as they had passed by the very spot named without hearing any thing of the matter. These, however, on now learning the news of the Bagdad road, which had given rise to the report on which we questioned them, made their determination to halt here for a while; though the news thus learnt from us might, for aught we knew, have been as ill-founded as the rumour which they themselves had so satisfactorily contradicted.

As we were now positively assured of our way being safe, I expected that we should suffer no more delay; but the majority of our party, to whom despatch seemed of no great consequence, still determined to prolong their halt. In an evening stroll, about an hour before sunset, under the guidance of one of the natives of the place, and accompanied also by my Dervish, we came upon a large and remarkable heap of ruins, about a mile to the north-east of the town. It was in form and extent nearly like that of the Makloube, the supposed castellated Palace at Babylon, except that it was less in height, and whatever buildings had once occupied this site had been rased nearer to the ground. It was still, however, sufficiently high to form a conspicuous object on the plain, even from a distance, its highest part being forty or fifty feet above the common level.

By the people of the country, it is called Giaour-Tuppé-sé, or the "Hill of the Infidels;" and it was asserted by our guide, and confirmed by many others of the place, whom we questioned afterwards, that there had been often dug up from, and found on the surface of the ruins, small idols of copper, some of them representing men in a sitting posture, without seats to support them; which, from their size and material, as well as from their attitudes, imitated by those who described them to us, must have been of the same kind as one of the Babylonian idols in Mr. Rich's collection.

In examining the surface of this mound, we saw in many parts that had been excavated, portions of excellent masonry, in large, square, red, burnt bricks, some layers of thick lime cement, with others of what seemed to be either a very fine stucco, or else a peculiar kind of white marble. There were no appearances of any outer wall that encircled the whole, though possibly such might have existed beneath the rubbish. The interior part seemed to have been composed of many small buildings, like the Palace at Babylon; and indeed similar edifices are still seen throughout the East, where all the domestic offices are included within the same area with the principal abode. Having my compass with me, and pretending to use it to ascertain the precise point of the Caaba for evening prayers, I obtained from the spot the bearings of such surrounding objects as were in view.*

To the north, from eight to ten miles off, were two ridges of low hills, going along nearly east and west, and the eastern horizon was intercepted by the chain of mountains leading from Koordistan to Lauristan, and dividing Irak-Arabi on the west from Irak-Ajami on the east.

The stream which we had crossed about an hour before enter-

* Town of Kesrabad, south-west by south, one mile. Town of Tewak, with date trees, west-south-west, five miles. Town of Baradan, with a high mound, west, five miles. Mound called Nimrood-Tuppé-sé, south-west, half a mile. Mound called Shah-Tuppé-sé, south-by-east half east, quarter of a mile.

ing Kesrabad, and which was there called Nahr-el-Khan-e-Keen, from a belief that it was the same which flowed by that place, was here called Giaour-Soo, or the "Water of the Infidels," evidently relating to the "Giaour-Tuppé-sé," the hill on which we stood. From hence it was seen flowing from the north-east through a fine plain, the stream itself being visible from a bearing of north to west, and its banks plainly to be traced still farther each way, from their being covered with verdure, and having fine green plots of cultivated land on each side.

This river was distant from the ruins in question little more than a mile, and might be said to have covered the approach to it from the north-west. It was this consideration chiefly, though strengthened considerably by the appearance of the ruins, the name both of it and the river which covered it, with the figures and coins found here, which led me to suppose that it might be the site of the celebrated Palace of Dastagherd.

M. D'Anville, in his "Memoir on the Euphrates and the Tigris," when treating of the expedition of Heraclius against Persia, and the flight of Chosroes, by which it was terminated, says: "In that campaign, Heraclius passed successively the Great and the Little Zab,* and a third river, named Torna." This is conceived, with some show of probability from the resemblance of names, to have been the Tornadatum of Pliny.†

A river, called Physcus by Xenophon, Gorgus by Ptolemy, Odoine by Tavernier, and Odorneh by D'Anville, is assumed for this; among all which names, no one like Diala certainly appears. Its position, however, as the third river from Nineveh to Ctesiphon on the east bank of the Tigris, may form a more certain guide

* In the expedition of Cyrus, the first of these rivers is mentioned as the Zabatus, and said to be four plethra in breadth; and in a note on this passage it is observed, that the Zabatus, or Zabus, called also by the Greeks Lycus, preserves its original name Zab.—*Geog. Anc.* tom. ii. p. 243.—*Expedition de Cyrus dans l'Asie Supérieur, et la Retraite de Dix Mille, par M. Larcher.* Paris, 12mo. 1778, tom. i. l. 2—19. p. 148.

† When speaking of an Antiocha, thought to be the Opis of Xenophon and Strabo, Pliny describes it as seated "inter duo flumina Tigrim et Tornadatum."

than names varying with every writer and in every age. The river in question is called the third, after counting the Great and Little Zab as the first and second; and between this last stream and the Diala, there is no other that is now known to deserve the title of a river; so that this only can be the third intended, whether called the Diala, or any of the other varied names bestowed on it.

D'Anville continues to examine into the question of the site of Dastagherd,* the palace which for twenty years enjoyed the distinguished preference of the Persian monarch over that of Ctesiphon.

All that the power of a great sovereign could effect toward the gratification of a luxurious Asiatic taste was here accomplished; and the sober page of history is swelled beyond its proper bounds, by an enumeration of the objects of state and splendour which were here collected for the pampered taste of royalty to feed on.†

In describing the local features of this delicious spot, it is said

* In the Pascal Chronicle, this name is read Dastagerchosar, according to Theophanus and Cedrenus, which, if a corruption of Dastagherd, Kasar, would signify, in the language of the country, simply, the castle or palace of Dastagherd.

† Parviz avait dans son serail, douze mille jeunes filles, aussi belles que la lune, aussi suaves que l'odeur de l'ambre. Il avait aussi douze cent elephans, et une certaine quantité d'or que l'on pourrait faire tout ce qu'on voulait sans le secours de feu. Cinquante mille chevaux mangeoient de l'orge dans des ecuries, et douze mille chameaux étoient employés à porter le baggage de sa maison. Shebiz, l'un de ses chevaux dont la vitesse surpassait celle du vent, est celèbre dans l'histoire. Parviz avait aussi un musicien nommé Barbano, qui n'a jamais eu son semblable. On raconte tant de choses de la magnificence de ce Prince qu'un homme sensé ne peut ajouter foi à tous qu'on dit.—*Memoires sur les Antiquités de la Perse, par M. Silvestre de Sacy. Paris.* 4to.

On vante aussi l'incomparable magnificence de sa cour, et l'immensité de ses trésors. Il entretenoit habituellement quinze mille musiciens, six mille officiers du palais, vingt cinq mille cinq cents chevaux et mulets de belle, et, pour le baggage, neuf cent soixante elephans. Quand il sortoit à cheval, deux cents personnes l'accompagnoit avec de cassolettes, où brûloient de parfums, et mille porteurs d'eau arrosoit le chemin. Parmi les objets precieux, et même merveilleux qu'il possedoit, nous ne citerons qu'un essuie-mains qu'on jetoit au feu pour le nettoyer: il étoit sans doute en amianthe. Ce fut sous son regne que l'on amena en Perse des jeunes elephans blancs.—*Notes par Langles sur les Voyages de Chardin. Paris.* 8vo. 1811. *tome* 10, *p.* 181.

to have been seated in a fine plain or valley, and to have had a deep and clear stream to cover its approach, which when the army of Heraclius had passed, the precipitate retreat of Chosroes threw open the palace of Dastagherd to the Greek Emperor without resistance. To avenge himself for the devastations and calamities which his own empire had suffered from the inroads of Chosroes, Heraclius destroyed this palace, and caused to be consumed by the flames whatever had constituted to form its ornaments or its delights.

The Diala has been already said to be the third river enumerated among those which Heraclius passed from the Tigris, in his march to Dastagherd. A fourth is then spoken of, as a deep and clear stream, covering the approach to this palace, and consequently lying to the north-west in the line of approach from Nineveh, and the two rivers of the Great and Little Zab.

The same geographer continues: "We read in history, that Heraclius, having made three marches in advance from Dastagherd, found himself within twelve miles of a river called the Arba, close to which (and probably along its southern bank) the Persian army were assembled to cover the approach to Ctesiphon." *

We have thus, therefore, these fixed data to guide us in our search after the site of Dastagherd. First, its situation in an agreeable place, so as to command whatever is thought to contribute to the gratification of an eastern taste, in wood, water, shade, &c. Secondly, its being necessary to cross three rivers, the Great Zab, the Little Zab, and the Diala, in the march toward it from Ctesiphon. Thirdly, its approach being covered by a deep and clear stream on the north-west. Fourthly, its being three days' march from it to within twelve miles of the Arba,

* From local position, it is probable that this Arba was some stream flowing from the eastward into the Diala before the junction of this last river with the Tigris: for, between the Diala and Ctesiphon, there is no river now existing, nor the bed of any ancient one apparent.

which covers the approach to Ctesiphon, or within twenty miles, at least, of that city itself.

The situation of the ruins here, at Giaour-Tuppé-sé, or the Hill of the Infidels, corresponds, in an extraordinary degree of accuracy, with all these particulars. The whole of the extensive valley in which it is placed may be called a delicious country. The Great and the Little Zab and the Diala must be crossed in the march to it from Nineveh, or from Moosul, where the ruins of that ancient city are. The approach to it is covered by the deep and clear stream of the Giaour-Soo, or Water of the Infidels, on the north-west. And the distance of three days' march from hence, to within twelve miles of the river that covers the approach to Ctesiphon, is as near the estimate of that distance as one can expect, since the precise distance of that river, within eight or ten miles, is not known, if it be a branch of the Diala.*

* D'Anville seems to have been perplexed by the multiplicity of names applied to this river, and to have spoken of it sometimes as two distinct streams.

After saying: " On lit dans l'histoire, qu'Heraclius ayant fait trois marches en avant de Dastagerd, se trouva à douze milles d'une rivière nommée Arba, et près de laquelle l'armée Persanne était rassemblée pour couvrir les approches de Ctesiphon;" he observes, " Or nous sommes instruits d'une manière positive, qu'au-dessous de Bagdad, et au moins de distance au-dessus de Modain, le Tigre reçoit une grosse rivière, dont le nom de Delas dans l'antiquité subsiste distinctement en s'écrivant aujourd'hui Diala."—He adds, " Comme il n'est point dit qu' Heraclius ait passé cette rivière, il faut en conclure que ce fut la terme de cette expedition; et, que Chosroes n'existant plus par le crime de son fils, Siroes, c'est ce que donna lieu à un traité qui mit fin à cet armament de l'empire Grec contre le Persan." p. 104, *et seq.* 4to.

But we have before seen that Heraclius must have passed the Diala, to have destroyed the palace of Dastagherd, since, in the words of M. D'Anville himself, " la rivière qui couvroit ce lieu à l'approche d'Heraclius, et dont le nom dans l'antiquité est Delas, le conserve encore, étant appellée Diala."

There is an evident confounding of the same river with some other stream, by making it appear in two different positions under the same name: for if the Diala had been crossed to arrive at Dastagherd, it would have been necessary to re-cross it again before the army could come upon the lower part of it, as covering the approach to Ctesiphon, which re-crossing is no where specified, that I remember. Besides which, the Diala is enumerated as the third river after the Great and Little Zab, from Nineveh, and the one covering the approach to Dastagherd is spoken of as a fourth.

Upon the whole, therefore, I cannot think the Arba to be again this Proteus river, as

The name of the present town of Kesrabad, signifying "founded or peopled by Kesra," the Arab name of Chosroes, may be thought, perhaps, to give some support to the supposition of this being the site of his favourite palace, seated in a beautiful plain, bounded on three sides by hills, and on the east by lofty mountains, commanding an extensive prospect, enjoying a delicious climate, and wanting only the hand of taste and labour to render it one of the most agreeable abodes that could be inhabited.

The strength of this position would be only such as art could give it, since it derived none from nature ; but, although it would seem reasonable that a place, containing such immense treasures as Dastagherd is described to have had within it at one time, should have been well fortified ; yet, from the precipitate flight of the monarch, who abandoned it without resistance to the Greek Emperor, it might at least be presumed that its means of defence were not very considerable.*

D'Anville would have it, but conjecture it rather to be some stream leading into it, under the name of the Afit-Ab of the Maps, though I have no positive knowledge of the existence of such a stream from any other source. The branch running by the small town of Imaum Eske, in the road from Bakouba to Mendeli, in Kinnier's map of Persia, may possibly be the same stream, as it seems to lead towards a discharge into the Diala, though its continuation to such discharge is not carried on in the map itself.

Great confusion, it must be confessed, exists both in the writings of the Ancients, and in those of their ablest illustrators among the moderns, on the subject of such small local features of distant countries as these : but we may say with Rennel, that " notwithstanding these inaccuracies, it is curious to trace the geographical ideas of the people who ranked high as historians, warriors, and philosophers, on a country whose divisions then formed a subject of speculation, like the interior of Africa, and the course of its rivers at the present day."

* " The various treasures of gold, silver, gems, silk, and aromatics, were deposited in an hundred subterraneous vaults; and the chamber *Badaverd* denoted the accidental gift of the winds, which had wafted the spoils of Heraclius into one of the Syrian harbours of his rival. The voice of flattery, and perhaps of fiction, is not ashamed to compute the thirty thousand rich hangings that adorned the walls, the forty thousand columns of silver, or more probably of marble and plated wood that supported the roof, and the thousand globes of gold suspended in the dome, to imitate the motions of the planets and the constellations of the zodiac." *Gibbon*, vol. viii. c. 46. p. 225.—8vo.

It is worthy of remark, that Dastagherd is mentioned only as a palace, and no notice is taken of a metropolitan city near it,* which corresponds also with the actual appearance of the place, there being no other ruins than those of the isolated buildings enumerated, among the mounds of which the bearings are given from this spot.†

We returned at sun-set by the western quarter of the town, passing round the gardens, and coming along the banks of a canal leading from the Giaour-Soo,‡ and running close by the walls,

* "Chosroes enjoyed with ostentation the fruits of his victory, and frequently retired from the hardships of war to the luxury of the palace. But in the space of twenty-four years he was deterred by superstition or resentment from approaching the gates of Ctesiphon, and his favourite residence of Artemita or Dastagerd was situate beyond the Tigris about sixty miles to the north of the capital. Six thousand guards successively mounted before the palace gate: the service of the interior apartments was performed by twelve thousand slaves, and in the number of three thousand virgins, the fairest of Asia, some happy concubine might console her master for the age or the indifference of Sira."—*Gibbon*, vol. viii. c. 46. p. 224. 8vo.

† I have not been able to find any mention of Dastagherd in D'Herbelot's *Bibliotheque Orientale*, though the Life of Chosroes, its possessor, is given at length from Mirkhond. Gibbon, however, who had an opportunity of consulting the best authorities, constantly speaks of it as a palace, or a retired seat, rather than a city; though he couples it with Artemita, without assigning a reason for what had not hitherto been disputed. This historian, in his account of the third expedition of Heraclius, A. D. 627, after describing the victorious results of the battle of Nineveh to the Greeks, says: "The diligence of Heraclius was not less admirable in the use of victory; by a march of forty-eight miles in four-and-twenty hours, his vanguard occupied the bridges of the Greater and the Lesser Zab, and the cities and palaces of Assyria were open for the first time to the Romans. By a just gradation of magnificent scenes, they penetrated to the royal seat of Dastagherd, and though much of the treasure had been removed, and much had been expended, the remaining wealth appears to have exceeded their hopes, and even to have satiated their avarice. From the palace of Dastagerd he pursued his march within a few miles of Modain or Ctesiphon, till he was stopped on the banks of the Arba by the difficulty of the passage, the rigour of the season, and perhaps the fame of an impregnable capital."—*Gibbon*, vol. viii. c. 46. p. 250. 8vo.

‡ The term "Giaour," so commonly applied to infidels by the Turks, and used in that sense as a title of one of Lord Byron's beautiful poems, is thought by some to be a corrupt abbreviation of Guebr, or fire-worshipper, bestowed on the followers of Zoroaster, who were the first infidels against which the Mohammedan arms were directed out of their own country. —*Malcolm's History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 200.

from which canal the town and neighbouring gardens are watered.

On further enquiry respecting the river here, we were told that Bakouba was seated on the main stream of the Diala; that Shahraban stood on a smaller stream, going afterwards into that river; but that the Giaour-Soo is a distinct stream from all these, discharging itself into the Tigris, though the exact point of such discharge no one here knew accurately. Neither of these streams, it was said, were the same as that of Khan-e-Keen, as had been told us before, this last being the Sirwund of some, and the Silwund of others; while at Kassr-Shirine, and at Sirpool further east of us, is the Erwend or Elwund, with the same permutation of letters.*

Tavernier says: "Je recontrai, à Isfahan, en 1647, un de ces Guares, ou anciens Persans, qui adoraient le feu." And again: "Je passe maintenant à la religion de Gaures, ou Guèbres."—*Voyages des Tavernier, par J. B. J. Breton.* Paris, 1810. 12mo. tome i. c. 5. p. 108; ii. c. 3. p. 138.

Langles, the celebrated French Orientalist, says: "Gaour est la corruption de Kafour, pluriel du mot Arabic Kafer, Infidèle."—*Voyages de Chardin.* Paris, 1811. vol. viii. p. 365. 8vo.

* In the routes given in the Appendix to Morier's Travels through Persia, all these streams are confounded in one, and spoken of as the Alwund, even to Bakouba, which is evidently erroneous. The names of places there are also often mis-spelt; but the difficulty first of obtaining accurate information on what an enquirer does not see for himself in these countries, and next of committing it to record on the spot, is a sufficient excuse for much greater errors than these.

CHAPTER II.

FROM DASTAGHERD TO ARTEMITA, OR KHAN-E-KEEN, AND FROM THENCE TO HELLOWLA, OR KASSR-SHIRINE.

SEPT. 8th.—The morning came, without any preparation for departure, and I began to fear we were fixed here for many days to come. By going round, however, to all the cells and chambers of the khan, and using alternately expressions of encouragement and reproach, we at length persuaded about half a dozen of the most courageous of our companions that it was pusillanimous to be afraid of moving, when no danger was known to exist on our way: and it was amusing to see how soon the few whom we were able to win over, turned their backs upon their former comrades, and called them woman-hearted, and timid creatures, for refusing to follow their example; to which the others made no reply.

As I was now looked upon as the caravan-bashi, or head, from being the chief mover of this party, and as the Dervish Ismael and myself were indeed by far the best mounted and most completely armed of the whole troop, we performed the duties of leaders, by filling the pipes and nargeels of all our companions from our own stock of tobacco, and serving coffee to our select comrades from our own coffee-pot. All this was done with great dispatch, so that soon after sun-rise we were mounted, and quitting the khan, leaving behind us within its walls, a caravan destined for Bagdad, and the Persian pilgrims who had come with us from thence thus far, but who refused to go on without further protection.

Our course now lay nearly east, over a plain, which brought us in half an hour to the two heaps called Nimrod-Tuppé and Shah-Tuppé, between which we passed, without seeing any thing remarkable in them, more than common mounds of earth; though they probably might have shown vestiges of former buildings had they been carefully examined, a task which I could not now step aside from the road to execute.

The Nimrod-Tuppé has a tradition attached to it, of a palace having been built there by Nimrod; and the Shah-Tuppé is said by some to have been a pleasure-house; by others, to be the grave of an Eastern monarch, coming on a pilgrimage to Mecca from India, who, being pleased with the beauty of the situation, halted here to take up his abode, and ended his days on the spot.

Just beyond these mounds, we crossed, by a flat bridge, over a good artificial canal. The stream which filled it was narrow, but deep and clear, and came from the river called the Giaour-Soo, watering several portions of the surrounding country in its way. Our next hour's journey was over a gravelly and desert tract, which brought us to the foot of a ridge of sand-stone and gravel-hills, running north and south across the plain.

We were about an hour in ascending these on the western, and descending them on the eastern side, at the foot of which we came

on a second plain, similar to the first, both in its soil and extent The traversing this occupied just another hour, when we enjoyed an extensive view of the plain of Khan-e-Keen, which seemed to have more verdure and fertility than any grounds we had seen, since quitting the environs of Bagdad.

Our course across this was about east-north-east, and, when we had gone an hour and a half, we had, abreast of us on our left, a small village of mud-built huts, called Butrakus, and near it some grass and reeded huts, of Arab families. The tribes occupying this plain, are those of El-Boozweid, El-Mujummah, and El-Beni Weis; they live together in great harmony, having their separate portions of land well defined. Unlike the Arabs generally, they are cultivators of the soil, as well as herdsmen and shepherds: for this, however, they have to pay a regular tribute to the Pasha of Bagdad.

In another half hour we entered the town of Khan-e-Keen, passed through the first portion of it, crossed the bridge which connects this to the second, and alighted at an excellent caravanserai in perfect safety, not having had the slightest cause for alarm throughout the whole of our journey.

From the circumstance of our having travelled in so small a party, and from a supposed Arab being at the head of it, there were so many persons of the town, and travellers halting here on their journey, who came to hear the news, and pay their respects to the Hadjee-Aga, that I was occupied the whole of the afternoon in receiving and entertaining company.

At El-Assr, I washed for prayer, my Dervish having already perfected me in this ceremony, the prescribed forms of which are minute and intricate; and taking occasion while I was thus employed, to hint to the visitors that a little repose would be welcome after devotion, they gradually dispersed, and left me, for a short period at least, alone. I profited by this occasion to take some clean linen, and go down to the river's side for the double purpose of washing, and of being unobserved, that I might put to paper

my notes of our route, as it was impossible, from the crowded state of the khan, to attempt to write there, without betraying myself as a stranger.

I enjoyed my evening bath with all the privacy I could desire; but as the sun was nearly set, I caught only a few minutes afterwards to execute the other portion of the task for which I had thus stolen away.

The town of Khan-e-Keen consists of two portions, occupying the respective banks of the river Silwund, which are connected together by a bridge across the stream. The river here flows nearly from south to north through the town; about half a mile to the southward of the bridge the bend of the river is seen, where the stream comes from the eastward; it then goes north for about a mile, and afterwards turns westerly, bending gradually to the southward, so as to form the Giaour-Soo, which runs to the west of Kesrabad.

The river is here, however, called the Sirwund or Silwund, and has its source in the eastern mountains, though no one at the place pretends to know the exact distance of it from hence. The bridge is newly built of brick-work, and is supported on thirteen pointed arches and buttresses, all of good masonry. It is high, broad, and well paved across, and is a hundred and eighty horse-paces long, though the river itself is not, on an average, more than half that breadth.

Advantage has been taken of a bed of solid rock, which lies in the centre of the stream, to make it the foundation of the bridge; and the water of the river is led under each of the arches, through a narrow and deep channel, originally cut no doubt in the rock, but since worn into deep and apparently natural beds, leaving each side of the rock dry. In this way, each arch has under it two broad level spaces of stone, with a deep and rapid current going between them; so that, at this season of the year, when the water is low, a person can walk dry-shod across the rock, by the side of the bridge; and the places beneath the arches form so

many shady retreats, where parties assemble to enjoy refreshments by the water, which is peculiarly clear, from running in a gravelly bed, and is of pure and excellent taste.

The western portion of Khan-e-Keen, which is the largest, approaches close to the edge of a cliff, overlooking the stream, and is banked up in some places by a brick wall. The eastern division is smaller, but contains an excellent khan, built in the Persian style, and capable of receiving a large caravan. Both divisions contain together about fifteen hundred dwellings, and a population of from ten to twelve thousand inhabitants. There are two principal mosques in the place, and the people are all of the sect of the Soonnees. Among the inhabitants are a few Jews, but no Christians. The Governor is subject to Bagdad, and pays a tribute to the Pasha, which is drawn from agriculture and the profits made on supplies to casual passengers. The language spoken is chiefly Turkish.

There are many excellent gardens at Khan-e-Keen, and no want of trees; while the banks of the river, which are low both above and below the town, though one of them is high at the town itself, are covered with verdure. Tradition says, that in this place was formerly a fine park, and two palaces, the work of Ferhad, the celebrated architect and sculptor, and lover of Shirine; one of these palaces, named Berzmahan, being for Shirine herself, and the other the place from whence Khosrou, or Kesra, her lord, used to survey his troops. No situation could be more agreeable for parks or palaces, but no remains of any great buildings were now to be traced.*

In the Memoir on the Expedition of Heraclius, before alluded

* "Ferhad, que l'amour de Schirine avait suivi jusqu'au fond des solitudes, construisit un immense parc, dont on voit encore les restes, entre Bagdad et Kermanschah, proche de *Kharkin* (Khan-e-Keen) et au milieu duquel s'élevoient en amphithéatre deux palais en regard: l'un, nommé Berzmahan, destiné au logement de Schirine; l'autre, plus spacieux et contigu à une haute tour à plusieurs étages, où Khosrow devait se placer pour faire la revue de ses troupes."—*Itineraire d'un Voyage en Perse par le voie de Bagdad, par M. Rousseau, Consul General de France à Halep*, 1807. *Mines de l'Orient*, tom. 3, p. 91. *Vienne.*

to, mention is made of a city called Artemita, of which, from the correspondence of relative distance and local feature, I should conceive this place of Khan-e-Keen to be the site.

Strabo speaks of Artemita as a celebrated city. Isidore of Charax says, that it was seated on a river called the Silla. Its distance from Ctesiphon and Seleucia is given respectively by Isidore of Charax, at fifteen schœnes, in "Stathmis Parthicis;" by Strabo at 500 stadia; and by the Theodosian Tables at seventy-one Roman miles. According to Isidore it was a Greek city, and its name is thought to have been derived from the Greek term ἄρτεμης, or αρτεμια, signifying a healthy and advantageous situation; though it had another name among the people of the country, which the same author writes Chalasar.

It will be seen that Khan-e-Keen is seated on the river Silwund, which may well be the Silla of antiquity; that its distance corresponds, with sufficient accuracy, to that assigned to Artemita from Seleucia and Ctesiphon.* And that no place could more justly deserve a name implying a healthy and advantageous situation.†

M. D'Anville says, "Artemita was a Greek city, on a stream whose name, which is sometimes written Silla, should rather be called Delas, the modern form whereof is Diala."‡ We have already seen that this river has been as frequently confounded with other streams in antiquity, as the Elwund has been in the latest Itineraries of our own times, and in each case the confusion has given rise to other errors.

* There is no measuring off the exact distance of this place on Kinnier's Map, as in it its name is altogether omitted. In a route from Sennah by Kermanshah to Bagdad, by Mr. Webb, attached to the geographical memoir for the illustration of this map, Khanakee is stated to be eighteen miles from Kuzzelroobaut (or Kesrabad) and this measures exactly sixty miles, the distance of Dastagherd from Ctesiphon, making the whole seventy-eight.

† Its present name is formed of خان a Caravanseria, and قين collecting together, adjusting; repairing, composing; mending, forming, framing, adapting, &c.—*Richardson's Arabic Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 745.

‡ Compendium of Ancient Geography. English Edit. 8vo. vol. 2, p. 469.

It is thus that Artemita and Dastagherd are considered by D'Anville, to be the same place under a Greek and an Oriental name, (though that name is given by Isidore of Charax as Chalasa) merely because the same river which passed by Dastagherd is said by Isidore to have passed by Artemita also: not considering that a river may pass by twenty cities in its course, without its being therefore necessary to unite them in one, unless their distances, from some known point, agree exactly with each other.

But though it does not follow, because the same stream is said to have passed by Artemita and Dastagherd, that these are therefore but one place under different names;* still this fact gives great strength to the opinion, that the Silla is no other than the Silwund of the present day, which, after flowing through Artemita at Khan-e-Keen, goes along by Dastagherd at Kesrabad, sufficiently distant to the north-west of that place to cover the approach to it from that direction; being there called the Giaour-Soo, or Water of the Infidels, most probably in allusion to the Greeks being partially impeded by it on their march against the palace there.

Sept. 9th.—At sun-rise we left Khan-e-Keen with the same party with which we entered it on the preceding day, and went east-north-east, over rugged, gravelly, and barren hills, for three hours; when we reached an old enclosure of low walls with loop-holes, being a very poor and modern fort of the Arabs, called Khallet-el-Subzey, in a solitary situation, and renowned for murders and treacherous deeds. We proceeded here with lighted matches and primed pistols, and were shown the graves of several passengers who had been killed by the Arabs, and buried by others following them on the same road.

* Though Kinnier has omitted the name of Khan-e-Keen in his Map of Persia, and argues strongly against the supposition of Artemita and Dastagherd being the same place; it is singular enough that he has given them both the same position in his map as "Artemita *or* Dastagherd," and placed them in a situation with which, as he himself admits in the memoir, the distance of Artemita did not at all agree!—*See Kinnier's Memoir*, p. 306.

Going for three hours more on the same course, having all the way barren and hilly ground, we arrived just before noon at Kassr-Shirine; and about a quarter of an hour before entering it, we touched at a bend of the river coming from that place, without crossing its stream in our way.

We found at the caravanserai a drove of asses, laden with salt, which had been brought from Mendeli, and was transporting to Kerrund: it was of the rock kind, and was said to be procured in abundance from salt-mines in that neighbourhood. A few questions put to the people who were employed in the conveyance of this commodity, though asked with great caution, were sufficient to excite suspicion of my motives; so that it was found unsafe to follow them up by others.

The Sheeah sect of the Moslems, which embraces nearly all the Persians, appeared to me to be much more fanatic than the Soonnees, whom they regard as heretics, and themselves as orthodox; which order is of course reversed by their opponents. They are, comparatively speaking, the Roman Catholics of the East,—revering tombs, and saints, and relics, more than the Soonnees. They are more punctual, and longer in their prayers and washings, and they despise the Soonnees heartily for their want of ceremony; besides which, many of them will neither eat nor drink knowingly with an unbeliever; nor even take water out of the same cup after him, without first cleansing it of its defilement. Among such a people I felt myself continually under apprehension, and was straitened so much in my opportunities of making observations on the route, or of noting them down, that as long as I remained with them, I despaired of being able to record more than outline memorandums for future reference and use.

Towards evening, under pretence of washing in the river and performing my evening devotions by the stream, I stole an hour to ramble over the ruins here. The pile more particularly called Kassr Shirine, is a square of about one hundred

and fifty paces on each side, and appears to be the remains of a military fort. It is now about thirty feet high in its most perfect parts, and has six circular bastions on each front, built in the Saracenic style. The interior of the square is nearly filled up by the rubbish of buildings formerly within it, many parts of the walls of which are still standing.

Like all the old Eastern castles, this seems to have been erected on a naturally elevated mound, which was subsequently cased over with masonry on its exterior face,—thus forming the hill of fortification, while the edifices within stood on the high level of its summit, sheltered only by a parapet wall surrounding the upper edge of the mound itself. The masonry of the outer fort, as seen at present, is of large unhewn stones, rudely but strongly imbedded in a mass of lime cement; but from its extremely rough appearance it is probable that it once had an outer coating of brick, or of smaller hewn stones, as a casing to this rude interior. Near this fort is a small mound, which is called Kassr-el-Sughyre, or the little palace, to distinguish it from the Kassr-el-Kebeer, or the greater one before described.

Both of these castles, or palaces, are seated on an elevated ground, on the northern bank of the river Alwund, and about a quarter of a mile distant from its stream, which here flows from east to west, along the valley to the southward of the ruins; and on the north, at the distance of a mile or two, are steep and rugged hills; while all around, the soil is bare, destitute of wood, and in general void of beauty.

Besides the ruin called Kassr-Shirine, which gives name to the place itself, there are here extensive remains of a large city, stretching for a mile or two to the eastward. Among these, no one edifice is seen entire; but the outer wall of enclosure is perfect in many parts, and is elsewhere so easily traced, that a plan of the *enceinte* might be made upon the spot. These walls are built of large hewn stones, well cemented with thin layers of lime, and are of strong and finished masonry.

The native Persians still preserve the tradition of these works being the remains of the city of Hellowla, which they say belonged to the Infidels before the days of the Prophet, and was founded by Kesra the king. This opinion is consistent with the testimony of history, and each thus confirms the accuracy of the other.

D'Herbelot, under the article Khosrou Ben Hormouz, says: "Ben Shohnah dit que Chosroes batit une ville, du nom de sa maîtresse Shirin, située entre les villes de Huluan et de Khanekin."* This corresponds precisely with the situation of the present Kassr-Shirine, which is just midway between Halouan, the present Zohaub, and Khan-e-Keen, the last station we had passed on our way.

The Arabic geographers and historians place the city of Hellowla, which they say was founded by Khosrou Parviz, and used as one of his favourite abodes, at six or seven fursungs from Khan-e-Keen; which also corresponds with the site of the present remains. Some of the native Persian authors indeed say, that Khosrou, or Kesra, built seven kassrs in seven different places, for the accommodation of his beloved Shirine, one of which was at Hellowla.

It is evident, therefore, that all advert to the same place; and as Hellowla is spoken of as existing at the period of the palace in question being built, it might have been also that the name of Shirine was thenceforth conferred on Hellowla as a farther mark of honour. Be this as it may, the situation and relative distances cannot be mistaken, and evidently point to the same spot; while the tradition of this city being the Hellowla of the Infidels, is known to every one here, though the name of Shirine is still more readily preserved, from its being more intimately associated with the popular tales of the country.

Of these I had already heard several, depicting the violence of the passion entertained for this lovely female by Ferhad the

* Bibliotheque Orientale, vol. ii. p. 445. 4to.

Georgian, whom the jealous Khosrou employed in works of sculpture and architecture to divert his attention, but who nevertheless, by the aid of a thousand ingenious stratagems, enjoyed the embraces of this fair queen in secret. Many portions of these tales, as far as I remembered them, corresponded with what I had read on the same subject, though others were tinged with still higher extravagance of passion, and enterprize and adventure to gratify it, than the more sober records of the written page.*

The modern town of Kassr-Shirine consists of about fifty dwellings, enclosed within a wall of mud and stone, between the ruins of the old palace and the river. The khan, however, which

* " On lit dans quelques livres d'Histoire que Shirin étoit le nom d'une fille, qui d'abord étoit esclave d'un des premiers Seigneurs de la Perse. Parviz dans sa jeunesse alloit de tems en tems chez ce Seigneur, et se plaisoit à badiner et à se divertir avec cette jeune esclave. Le maître de la maison defendit à Shirin de se prêter aux jeux de Parviz ; mais elle n'eut aucun égard à cette defense. Un jour, Parviz ayant ôté son anneau, le donna à Shirin ; le maître de Shirin en étant instruit, entra dans une grande colère et ordonna à un de ses confidens de prendre cette jeune fille et de la jeter dans l'Euphrate. Lorsque Shirin se vit sur le bord du fleuve, elle supplia celui qui la conduisoit de lui sauver la vie. ' Je ne puis,' lui dit cet homme, ' desobéir à mon bienfaiteur, mais je vais vous jeter dans un endroit d'où vous pourriez vous sauver.' L'ayant donc jeté dans l'eau, il s'en alla, Shirin sortit de l'eau, et se retira chez un moine, qui demeuroit à peu de distance de ce lieu. ' Je me suis,' lui dit elle, ' donné à Dieu, et je suis venu dans l'intention de m'attacher à votre service.' Ce moine consentit à la recevoir, et elle demeura long-tems avec lui. Dans la suite, après que Parviz fût monté sur le trône, une troupe des soldats de son armée passant près de ce monastère, Shirin, qui le vit, chargea l'un d'entre eux de dire au roi, lorsqu'ils seroient rendus plus près de lui, que Shirin l'esclave étoit dans un tel monastère ; et elle lui donna son anneau afin qu'il le portât à Parviz comme une marque à laquelle reconnoitrait la verité de ce qu'elle le chargeat de lui dire de sa part. Parviz ayant reçu par ce soldat le message de Shirin, lui donna des grandes recompenses, et il fit partir des officiers de son palais avec des filles esclaves pour aller chercher Shirin, et l'amener dans une litière à Madain, avec un grand cortège."

To show, however, that even the histories of his day, notwithstanding that they agreed in the main facts, were as varied in their details of this romantic story, as the traditions of the present times are on the same subject, the writer says : " Ce recit n'est pas conforme à ce qu'on lit dans le Shahnameh."

He adds : " On dit qu'une beauté parfaite doit reunir quarante qualités, et que dans le siècle de Parviz, aucune autre que Shirin ne remplissoit toutes les conditions requises."—See *Mémoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse, par M. Silvestre de Sacy*, p. 404. Paris, 4to. and the *Bibliotheque Orientale*, Art. " Ferhad, Khosrou, and Shirin."

is outside this enclosure, is large and commodious; in its construction were used a large quantity of square red bricks, similar to those seen at Modain, and taken probably from the ruins above. The river Alwund flows by the spot, in a valley running from east to west; and after passing the town about half a mile, it makes a bend to the south-westward: its stream is narrow, but rapid and clear, and its banks are generally covered with rushes.

Sir John Malcolm, and after him M'Donald Kinnier, had conceived the ruins here to be those of Dastagherd; but besides that the circumstances described correspond so accurately with the site of Hellowla and Shirine, it is deficient in the three leading features given to the site of Dastagherd. The approach to it from the northward or westward is not covered by a deep river, the stream being on the south: the situation itself is such as could not be easily made to have around it every thing that is agreeable in nature; and its distance is more than three days' march from the halt of Heraclius, at the river, twelve miles from Ctesiphon. Mr. Kinnier, who in his map fixes both Artemita and Dastagherd at this station of Kassr-Shirine, endeavours in his Memoir to prove that these two were not one and the same place. He objects more particularly to its being the true site of the former, from its disagreement in distance with the five hundred stadia of Isidore and Strabo, or somewhat more than sixty miles, at which this is placed from Ctesiphon,—Kassr Shirine being, as he himself observes, ninety miles at the lowest computation.* If it be too distant, then, from the capital for the site of Artemita, which is called five hundred stadia, or seventy-one Roman miles, it is still more so for that of Dastagherd, which is expressly said to have been only sixty miles from thence.† The situation of this last, too,

* Geographical Memoir on Persia, p. 306, 4to.

† Dastagherd was situate beyond the Tigris, about sixty miles to the north of the capital. —*Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. viii. p. 244; and *D'Anville*, in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. xxxii. p. 568.

seems to have been in a plain, and surrounded by a country of great beauty and fertility, to judge by the descriptive features which are preserved of it;* so that all these considerations united, confirm me still more in the opinion that Artemita is to be sought for at Khan-e-Keen, and Dastagherd at Kesrabad.

It was late before I returned to the khan, and many wonders and alarms had been expressed at my long absence; but a timely distribution of coffee among the enquirers, and the prayers of the night being recited in a loud voice, happily quieted all scruples.

SEPT. 10th.—We were stirring with the dawn, and left Kassr-Shirine before the day broke clearly. Our course lay east-north-east, and led directly through the ruins of Hellowla, which extended in broken portions for nearly an hour's ride. The most conspicuous features were the walls before described, built of large hewn stones. The whole of the city stood on an elevated level, and appears to have been of an irregular form, while the Alwund flowed along in a valley about half a mile to the southward of it.

As we passed through these ruins, I again tempted the tale of wonder and of love, and found a readiness, on the part of those by whom I was now surrounded, to answer all my enquiries. Questions asked of them relative to objects immediately before our eyes were too natural to excite suspicion of the motives which led to them, though, at the same time, these very individuals would have wondered much if I had made a single enquiry relative to Zohaub, or any other place at all out of our immediate route.

Among the feats recounted of Ferhad the lover of Shirine, and

* "The adjacent pastures were covered with flocks and herds; the paradise, or park, was replenished with pheasants, peacocks, ostriches, roebucks, and wild boars, and the noble game of lions and tigers was sometimes turned loose for the bolder pleasures of the chace." —*Gibbon*, vol. viii. c. 46, p. 225. 8vo.

one which it was acknowledged that nothing but the violence of his passion could enable him to do, was, that he used to come from Kermanshah and Bisitoon, across the mountains of the Tauk, passing over river, rock, and valley, in one night, enjoying the smiles of his beloved, and returning again to his labour there, between the setting and the rising sun. The horse he rode on, said they, was one from the plains of Bajelān below us, to which there were then none equal in the world; and this animal, whom he loved next to Shirine herself,—since by his aid only could he enjoy those stolen pleasures,—he fed with new milk, and corn steeped in honey, always from his own hands.

In recounting the end of this renowned beauty, they said that she either died of grief, or killed herself in despair, from being detected in admitting the embraces of her devoted lover Ferhad,—Khosroe the King having shut her up, after the discovery, in closer confinement than before. This, however, does not correspond with the testimony of Mirkhond, who terminates her romantic history by a death of self-devotion in the tomb, and on the body of her former lord Kesra, like the unhappy Juliet over the corpse of her beloved Romeo.*

It was not for me to decide on the probability of either the one or the other of these narratives; but after having recited that version of the tale with which I was most familiar from my reading, a young lad of fifteen, who was of our party, very shrewdly asked, "If the passion of Ferhad was so warmly returned by Shirine, was it likely that she would kill herself on the tomb of Kesra?" All exclaimed, Certainly not. And though it might per-

* "On raconte, qu'après le meurtre de Parviz, son fils Schirouieh devint amoureux de Shirin, et que comme il la sollicitoit vivement de condescendre à sa passion, elle demanda à Schirouieh de lui faire ouvrir la porte du lieu où étoit déposé le corps de Parviz. Ayant obtenu ce qu'elle desiroit, elle se rendit en ce lieu, et avala un poison violent, dont elle mourut au même instant."—*Mirkhond:* translated by De Sacy, p. 404, *et seq.* Paris, 4to.

haps be more to the honour of her sex, that such a tale of her death should obtain current belief,—yet all our morning party (for every one gave an opinion on the subject) thought it much more likely that her death was from the cause and in the manner which *they* had stated.

Those who have travelled extensively themselves need not be told how important the most trifling traditions appear when related and canvassed on the spot to which they refer: to those who have not, however, this explanation is perhaps necessary: and it may be added, that it is just in proportion to the remoteness of the scene and the rudeness of the people that these local tales have charms, for him who treads upon the spot itself, which it would be difficult to convey to one who reads the narrative of a journey in his library or his closet.

CHAPTER III.

FROM HELLOWLA, BY THE PLAIN OF BAJILAN, TO ZOHAUB AND SERPOOL.

In about three hours after leaving the khan at Kassr-Shirine, and going east-north-east over a rocky and hilly ground, we saw on our left an extensive plain, covered with verdure and encircled on all sides by mountains. This was called the Plain of Bajilān, being the northern termination of the district of Ghilan, which was on the south of us, and the southern point, or commencement of Koordistan to the north. It was from this plain that the celebrated horse of Ferhad was said to have been brought, to which there was no equal; and it is probable enough that the Nisæan pastures, so renowned in antiquity for the breed of horses there produced, was also on this spot itself.

The road from hence led directly to Serpool, our next stage, in an easterly direction, and was just three hours more. The town of Zohaub, the seat of the Koordish Pasha of Bajilān, was pointed out to the northward of us, just discernible by a white dome amid a cluster of trees, as it stood at the other extremity of the plain, at a distance of at least nine miles. There were two persons of our party destined for this, who intended leaving us here; and as the day was yet early, and we were assured that we could reach Serpool sufficiently in time to continue our way with the caravan of asses on the following morning, we determined to profit by so favourable an occasion of going up to Zohaub. In doing this, we were careful, however, to assign a proper motive, by insisting that we had business there with a certain Mohammed Aga, of which name there were no doubt twenty in the place (the name being as common as John Smith or William Jones in England), and should push on to Serpool to arrive there before night.

We accordingly quitted the direct road, and pursued our way across the plain, on a course of north-north-east, passing several Koord villages of straw huts, and having on each side of us fields of rice, cotton, tobacco, melons, &c. all now verdant, and watered by running streams flowing northerly through the plain, and leading off from the Alwund, which we had left to the southward of our road.

The Koords of the plain all live in dwellings of a description that might be called either huts or tents, for they are composed of the materials generally used in both, and are not altogether stationary. Like the tents of the Turcomans, the awning or roof is often of black hair-cloth, and the sides and partitions of straw matting, crossed by diagonal lines of black thread. The occupations of the people as pastors and cultivators, as well as their whole domestic economy, resemble those of the half Bedouin Arabs, on the eastern frontier of Syria. Their dresses, however, are different. Short coats or long jackets of a thick white woollen-cloth, with overhanging sleeves like the Albanian soldiers, narrow

trowsers, large shoes made of plaited woollen-yarns sewn together, and a conical cap of the same thick white cloth as their jackets, with the bottom part cut into several divisions, which are either turned up or let down at the pleasure of the wearer, form the more striking peculiarities of their costume. Most of them wear their hair long, which is often brown, and hangs in curls upon their shoulders. Their persons are stout and well made, though rather shorter and thicker than the ordinary standard. Their features are decidedly different from either Arabs, Turks, or Persians, and are rounder and flatter than either, approaching nearer to the Tartar face than to those named. Their language has a nearer affinity to Persian than to any other, which may have been caused by proximity of situation, for in their persons they are evidently a different race of men.

As we approached the town of Zohaub, we were frequently deceived into a belief of seeing the minarets of mosques in different directions, but these proved on nearer approach to be tall white obelisks in the burying-grounds of this people. Some of these were seen for several miles off, and must have been at least twenty or thirty feet high. Such as we saw were rudely built of stone, and coated over with a white plaster. They were all of the form used in ancient Egypt, and are here placed only over the graves of the dead, the size and height being proportioned to the wealth and consequence of the occupier. This was a kind of monument that I had not noticed before, though we were assured that it was in use among all the Koords, but was peculiar to them.

We reached the town of Zohaub about noon, entering it by the southern gate; and passing through the greater part of the interior, we alighted at a small and crowded khan, near the market-place, at its northern extremity.

As this town is out of the common route between Turkey and Persia, and, properly speaking, belongs to neither, since it is as often independent as otherwise, our arrival here caused very general enquiry as to what had brought us this way. A message

even came from the Pasha of the district, ordering us into his presence; and it was said that since news of the designs of Daood Effendi on Bagdad had reached his ears, great vigilance and strict enquiry was exercised on all who might arrive from thence, as few wars happened in these quarters without the Koords taking part with one or other of the belligerents.*

We repeated the story of our having business to transact with a certain Mohammed Aga of Zohaub, since from this we could not retreat, as our companions had circulated the same tale; and no less than four of that name and title came to us within the space of an hour, but we persisted in it that neither of these was the man.

My Dervish, who was a proficient in the art of dissimulation, at last exclaimed, "God knows! I have a suspicion that all is not right. It may not be so!—God forbid, indeed, that it should. But I firmly believe this said Mohammed Aga, to whom you lent the hundred piastres at Bagdad, to be some scoundrel who merely assumed the name for his wicked purpose, and, abusing your piety and generosity, cheated you under the semblance of a Zohaubi, without ever having been near Zohaub in his life."

The people of the place protested that there was no other Mohammed Aga among them whom they knew of, except the four here assembled; and when I had acquitted these of all claim, we were suffered to rest awhile, and our tale gained general credit,

* Diodorus, as well as all the ancient writers, bears testimony to the warlike disposition of the Carduchians. The ten thousand Greeks, in their retreat to their own country after the defeat of the younger Cyrus at Cunaxa, had to pass through their mountains, as they had determined to avoid the barren deserts by which they had approached from Issus, through Thapsacus on the Euphrates, to Babylon. These Carducians, or Carduchi, are described as a free and warlike people, enemies to the King, and very good soldiers, especially skilful and experienced in hurling great stones out of slings, and shooting in bows of a vast bigness and more than ordinary strength. These people galled the Grecians from the rising grounds, killing and miserably wounding many of them; for their arrows, being above two cubits long, pierced both their shields and breast-plates, so that no armour could repel their force; and it is said that these sort of weapons were so extraordinary big, that the Grecians used to cast these as *Saurians*, instead of their thong darts.—See *Diodorus Siculus*, B. 14. c. 5.

though it excited much more blame for our misplaced confidence than pity for our supposed distress.

The town of Zohaub is thought to contain about a thousand dwellings, which is an estimate certainly not much beyond the truth. These are all small; but as they have each a garden or court adjoining, they spread over a large space of ground. We did not perceive any dwelling more than one story high; and the khans, of which there were two or three, as well as the bazaars, were all comparatively diminutive.

The town is enclosed by a wall, turreted and flanked by bastions, or round towers, in the Turkish style: it has no ditch, but the wall itself, without this, is a sufficient defence from cavalry and foot soldiers, the only forces known here, artillery being seldom or never employed.

The Governor, Futteh Pasha, was himself a Koord, and commanded the whole of the district of Bajelan, the most southern part of Koordistan. All the Koords in this neighbourhood were subject to his authority, and he himself was tributary at this moment to Bagdad, though the place has been often subject to Persia, and as often defied *all* its masters.

The people are represented as of a ferocious and bad character, as all who have to deal with tyrants, and who struggle for liberty, are sure to be considered in the estimation of those who think passive obedience the highest virtue. To us they behaved civilly and hospitably enough, though it might have been unsafe, perhaps, for us to have trusted their virtues too far.

The men of the lower orders were dressed as the peasants already described; those of the higher class wore turbans of deep red, with fringed edges striped with blue; the women went generally uncovered, and were of better features and complexions than Arabs usually are. In the town we saw bullocks used for burden more frequently than any other animals; and we observed that the market was well supplied with food. The inhabitants are all

Moslems of the Soonnee sect, and have one mosque with a large white dome, but no minaret.

Among the various materials which I had collected to direct my enquiries regarding the site of the Palace of Dastagherd, was a note furnished me by Dr. Hine of the British Residency at Bagdad, which said, "About three fursungs to the eastward of Zohaub is a place well known to the Koords by the name of Khallet-el-Yezdegherd. It is strongly seated on the mountains; it presents the appearance of considerable ruins, has extensive caverns, and is about two or three fursungs in circumference. In the plain, at the bottom of Yezdegherd, are pieces of brick spread thickly over the country, giving the idea of the remains of an extensive city. These are called the ruins of Zarda or Garda, and may probably be those of Dastagherd; but no information is to be obtained from books about them."

I was most anxious to make some enquiries about this reported castle of Yezdegherd in the neighbourhood, and even to go there, if it lay at all in our way; and therefore I requested my Dervish to enquire openly in one direction, while I ventured on indirect questions in another.

We learnt, from our united labours, that at the distance of two hours and a half's ride to the northward of Zohaub, in the mountains, was a deserted fort or castle called "Duzgurra," or Duzkurra, and sometimes "Duzkurra-el-Melik;" but no place of the name of Yezdegherd was known of, any where in the neighbourhood.

This castle was said to be much smaller than the Kassr-Shirine at Hellowla, to be built of stone on the peak of a steep hill, and to be exceedingly difficult of access. It was represented to have been deserted rather than destroyed; since such as it originally was it still appeared to be, namely, a mere enclosure of defence, deriving its strength from situation rather than from construction.

At the foot of the hill on which the castle stands, there is said to be a small modern settlement of a few dwellings only, but I

could hear of no extensive ruins of a city as there reported, though it is quite possible that such might exist, and yet not be recognised by our informers. All, however, agreed that the castle itself was small and nearly in a perfect state, as it is resorted to by the Pasha of Zohaub as a retreat in time of trouble, and was used for this purpose very lately, when Abd-el-Rakheem was trying his fortune against the late Abdallah Pasha of Bagdad.* It was particularly insisted on, that there was no river or branch of a river near it, and that the country there was rocky and generally barren, the few shepherds on the hills getting their water from springs.

In the name of this place it is easy to recognise the Dascara-el-Melik of D'Anville. The name, my Dervish insisted, signifies in *old* Persian, "the small castle of the Prince," from "Deiz," a castle, "gurra," small, and "el-Melek," the Prince; but I know not whether this etymology is indisputable. There are many reasons, however, for not admitting it to be the Dastagherd of antiquity;—first, that no deep river covers its approach; next, that it is a barren wild, and in no sense a delicious spot; and, lastly, that it is more than even *five* days' march from the river before Ctesiphon. Again, the castle is too small for that described

* The ancient inhabitants of these parts were very nearly the same kind of people as the present race. The Cossæans, against whom Alexander undertook an expedition from Ecbatana, after the mourning for the death of Hephestion, were a warlike nation, bordering upon the Uxians. "Their country," says Arrian, "is mountainous, and their towns not fortified; for when they perceive their land invaded by a strong army, they immediately betake themselves to the tops of the mountains (either in a body or in separate parties, as it happens) where no enemy can approach: and when the invaders of the country are retired, they return to their habitations, and take up their former trade of plundering and robbing their neighbours, by which means they support themselves."—*Arrian*, b. 7. c. 15. v. 2. p. 156.

Strabo (lib. ii.) describes these same Cossæans as a people bordering upon Media, and so intractable a race that the Persian monarchs were wont to buy their peace of them to keep them from infesting their territories with their usual depredations; "for," says he, "whenever they attempted to subdue them, the Cossæans, retiring to their mountains, easily frustrated all their designs. So that the Persian kings were forced to pay an annual tribute when they went to their summer palace at Ecbatana, for their safe passage back again to Babylon.—*Rooke's Note to the passage cited.*

as containing the extensive establishment kept up at Dastagherd, and too perfect for the building which Heraclius is said to have *totally* destroyed by flames. Besides which, from such a place, if once invested by hostile troops, the possessor could not make a precipitate escape; this could only have been done in a plain and open country like Khan-e-Keen, where Dastagherd was most probably seated.

It has been said that the present town of Zohaub occupies the site of the ancient Holwan, which was also one of the fertile abodes of Khosrou; and this—from its having behind it a steep range of mountains, and before it a noble plain of a circular form, nearly nine miles in diameter, and being hemmed in all around by lofty hills,—might have made an agreeable residence for the most luxurious prince.

We saw nothing like ancient ruins here, but our examination was a very hasty one. If, however, this be the site of Holwan, as its relative distance from Khan-e-Keen and Kassr-Shirine would seem to imply, D'Anville has erred in placing it on a branch of the Diala, for no river, nor even the arm of one, flows through or near the town.

The most contiguous stream is the Alwund itself, at the other extremity of the plain, nearly ten miles off; and from this all the streams for watering the rice grounds lead up northerly towards Zohaub, the level declining that way.

Kinnier has placed Holwan at a place called Albania, near the thirty-fifth degree of latitude; but Zohaub agrees more accurately with the position assigned in its latitude, which is nearer to thirty-four degrees than thirty-five degrees, as well as with its distance from Bagdad, which is fully one hundred and twenty miles, or five days' good travelling; whereas Albania, of which place I have not heard, would be at least thirty miles further—by its position on the map.

We remounted at the khan of Zohaub, about El-Assr, (four o'clock) and going out of the western gate, came round the outer

wall, and went along the high road to Serpool. Our course lay about south-south-east, keeping close to the foot of the western hills. In little more than two hours we regained the common road to Serpool, to the westward of the spot at which we had branched off from it, and then went for nearly another hour over a succession of rising hills.

At sun-set we came to the foot of a steeper hill, on ascending which, and reaching its summit, we had to go down over a rocky slope that might be almost called a precipice, and would, in any other country than this, have been thought impossible for horses to traverse. Here we alighted, unloaded our beasts, and both we and they might be said to have literally slid down one half the way, and tumbled down the other. Our guide insisted on this being the common passage, though we afterwards learnt that he had lost his road, and had brought us by this unfrequented way.

It was quite dark when we reached the khan at Serpool, and we were all sufficiently wearied, by our excursion from the beaten track.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM SERPOOL, ACROSS THE CHAIN OF MOUNT ZAGROS, BY THE PASS OF THE ARCH.

SEPT. 11.—We passed a sleepless night, tormented by myriads of mosquitoes, from the rice-grounds that surrounded us; and though I had covered myself with a thick woollen cloak, these insects got under it in sufficient numbers to sting me into agony, so that I arose in the morning with my hands, feet, and forehead swoln and burning with pain. Our impatience to get out of this place induced us to quit it even before day-light, so that we saw no more of it than the light of the moon admitted. The village itself is small, not having more than thirty or forty dwellings, and these all inhabited by the Koords of the Plain. The khan however is large and commodious, and was built by the Shah Zadé

of Persia, for the accommodation of the Kerbelai, as they are called, namely, those who go on pilgrimage to the Tombs of Imam Ali and Imam Hussein, none but those who go to Mecca being dignified with the title of Hadjee.

Serpool stands near to a remarkable pass between the two detached masses of bare lime-stone rock, rising in spiral points from the Plain, as if shot up from the earth by the most violent effort of nature; and it has running by it a stream of good water, for the comfort of those who may halt there.

The level tract extending from it to the eastward was irrigated by canals from this stream, and covered by rice-grounds in full verdure. Our way across this plain lay south-east for about half an hour along the foot of the bare and steep masses of rock described, having these on our left; while on the opposite side, on our right, was a boundary of more even and rounder hills, one of which was called "Mamaky," or "My Mother," and the other "Looloo," both in the language of the Koords.

As we passed by the first opening in the rocks, called the Boghaz, or Pass, I remarked a mound of old bricks, hewn-stones, and other vestiges of some former building, which had either been an old khan now entirely destroyed, or the site of some still older fort to guard the pass, immediately opposite to which it stood.

It was about half an hour after passing this, and less than an hour from the time of our quitting Serpool, that we went through a second Boghaz, by turning to our left, and going north-east for a few yards, which brought us out into another cultivated plain.

These passes, though not more than one hundred feet wide, have both of them the appearance of being entirely natural. The hills, of which they form the separation, are rugged masses of lime-stone, perfectly bare, and about five hundred feet high, rising on their more sloping sides in a succession of spiral points, over-lapping each other, and showing on their more perpendicular sides, lines of strata almost at right angles with the horizon; so that the

whole looked as if it had been blown up from the bowels of the earth by some violent explosion.

My Dervish, who professed to be a great admirer of the wonders of nature, and who was struck with the wild aspect of these hills, asked me whether mountains grew progressively up from the earth like grass, but at an infinitely slower rate? He was a good deal surprised when I told him that observations on the earth's surface made by men the best qualified for the study, tended to prove that mountains, and every other part of the mineral world in sight, were rather in a state of decay than of growth. He confessed that, on reflection, all he had seen bore testimony to such a doctrine; though from want of considering with proper attention even that which he had seen, he entertained an idea that the mountains of Abraham's day were considerably higher now than they were when the good old Patriarch lived, and that they would continue to increase in altitude until their final destruction.

In this mountain-pass was shown to us a small natural cavern, which a lion had made his den, and to which he had dragged many an unwary passenger as his prey, inspiring such terror as to put a stop to all journeying by this route. It happened that two young Koords were at this period disputing the possession of a Virgin of the Plain, whom they both loved; but as *they* lived on the one side of the pass, and the object of their affections on the other, there was an end put to their evening interviews, by the intrusion of this destroying lion.

It was thought too bold an enterprise, even for a lover, to force this passage alone; but as the object to be attained by such a step was equally dear to both, they for a moment threw aside the jealousy of rivals, and exchanged reciprocal pledges to stand or fall together in the attempt. Then arming themselves, and mounting two of the best horses of the country, they vowed in the presence of their friends, entire and cheerful submission to the will of fate, stated their intention of forcing together this inter-

rupted pass, and dragging out the lion from his den,—being content, if both should escape destruction, that the voice of their beloved should decide on their respective claims, and if one only fell a victim, that the other would have his dying consent to marry her.

They sallied forth, and amid applauses of their comrades, and the wish of all that the bravest should have his reward; when one of them was torn in pieces by the beast, and the other came off triumphant by slaying the animal as he feasted on his companion's corpse.*

From this pass we went up easterly, over a gently ascending plain, well cultivated, and thickly strewed with clusters of Koord hamlets in every part; while on the hills before us were wood and water, the former supplying an abundance of fuel, and the latter descending in small rivulets to fertilize the land.

In about an hour and half we began to ascend the steeper side of the mountain, having the stream of the Alwund close on our right; and about half-way up we came to its source, which issued out from a narrow cleft in the side of the steep rock, and produced

* The determined valour of the people who formerly inhabited this country was observed and admitted by ancient writers. Arrian, describing the march of Alexander against the Cossæans, who refused to submit to his government, says:—"This people are a very warlike nation, and inhabit the hilly and mountainous parts of Media; and therefore, confiding in their own valour, and the fastnesses of their country, would never be brought to admit of any foreign prince to reign over them, and were never subdued during all the time of the Persian Empire. And at that time they were so very high, that they slighted the valour of the Macedonians. Alexander, however, conquered them in the space of forty days, and, building some towns at the most difficult passes through their country, he marched away." See b. xvii. c. 11. and *Plin. Nat. Hist.* b. vi. c. 27.

The existence of wild beasts, caverns, and rocky passes in this part of the country, is also noticed in ancient writers.—We learn from Arrian, that in the struggles for dominion which followed the death of Alexander, when Antigonus marched from Mesopotamia into Media, after Eumenes, he took his army through the mountains inhabited by the Cossæans. They are described by the historian as having been a free people, time out of mind, who inhabit in caves, and feed upon acorns and the salted flesh of wild beasts;—and, contemptible as they were held by Antigonus, who declined purchasing his passage through their country, he found more difficulties to surmount in forcing their passes, and lost more men in so doing, than if he had been opposed by a numerous and well-disciplined army. See b. xix. c. 2.

at once a full stream of clear and excellent water. As the mountain became steeper, it was necessary to alight, and walk up with our horses. The scenery was fine, without being either romantically grand or magnificent; the mountain was of lime-stone, of different qualities, and presented many cliffs near its summit, as well as steep slopes lower down, the whole of which was well wooded with small trees of dark green leaves now in full foliage, and the valleys were abundantly verdant.* In some of the views which presented themselves as we wound up the mountain by a serpentine path, I observed several that reminded me of similar ones in Lebanon, particularly near the cedars, and the valley of Hazbeheah, on the way from Tripoly to Balbeck.

It was about an hour after our commencing the steep ascent, that we came to a Roman ruin, called the Tauk, or Arch, as the building at Ctesiphon is called Tauk Kesra, or the Arch of Kesra. This ruin, if it may so be considered, for it is still in nearly a perfect state, represents an arched recess, the back of which is formed by the rock of the mountain planed away for that purpose, and the sides and roof are built of masonry. The recess appeared to be about twenty feet in height, twelve in breadth, and eight in depth inside. The form of the arch is Roman; it is well constructed, and not a stone has apparently been moved from its original bearing, though their outer surfaces are corroded by time and the atmosphere of an elevated region. The sides are formed of large blocks of smoothly hewn stone, closely united without cement, and even polished on the outer surface. The front presents a moulding on the arch, which is itself supported by pilasters

* This corresponds with the ancient descriptions of this district. Among others, Diodorus says: "The country, on the first entrance into Persia from the west, and as far as the Ladders, as they are called, (i. e. the Passes of Mount Zagros,) is flat and low, exceedingly hot, and barren of provision; but the rest is higher, of a wholesome air, and very fruitful. In this part there are many shady valleys, a variety of pleasant gardens, natural walks bounded on either side with all sorts of trees, and watered with refreshing springs; so that those who journey this way, frequently halt here and regale themselves in these pleasant places with great delight."—*Diodorus Siculus*, b. xix. c. 2.

of no determined order,—having the plain lines of the Doric, with a sort of chain band or fillet at the setting on of the capital on the shaft, but all the rest is entirely devoid of ornament.

By the side of this arched recess, a large space of the rock had been planed away on the face of the mountain, probably for an inscription. It was of an oblong form, and from twelve to fifteen feet in length, by six to eight feet in height. It was just of the same size and form, and placed in the same relative situation on the side of the rock, overlooking the highway, as the tablet on the Roman road at the Nahr-el-Kelb, or river Lycus, in Syria, containing a Latin inscription in honour of the individual who projected and executed the road over the promontory there. This was, no doubt, intended for a similar purpose here, but I could discover no traces of any inscription now visible; and from the surface of the tablet being itself still smooth, I should conceive that it had never been engraved on, rather than that it had been once written and since obliterated.

To what period these works may be assigned, an examination of the early histories of expeditions into these countries will best determine. This range of mountains is the Zagros of antiquity, which separated Persia from Assyria; and as the pass here is now the only one practised in this part of the chain, and contains the vestiges of a once noble road, it is not improbable but that it might have been the one marched over by Alexander on his way from Ecbatana to Babylon; and from the known fondness of that conqueror for great public works, of which his footsteps have left as many traces as those of other great men do of devastation, it is likely enough that he either made the road himself, or considerably improved it, and that the arch and tablet here were intended to commemorate his munificence.*

* Alexander, after passing the Tigris, on his march towards the country of the Uxians, was obstructed by the difficulty of the passes, which were all guarded by Madates, a Persian general related to Darius, and commanding a strong and well-disciplined army. He was conducted, however, by an inhabitant of the country, through such a strait difficult pathway

There were several passes in Mount Zagros, noted by the ancients as communicating between Babylon, Susa, and Ecbatana. Strabo enumerates three, the first of which passed by Messabatenus,* and is thought to be the royal road mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, from Susa to Ecbatana;† the second went from Gabiene to Susa,‡ and was no doubt that which traversed the country of the Cosseans;§ and the third went directly from Media into Persia. All of these, however, must have been to the southward of our place of crossing the chain, and this corresponded more accurately with the situation of the Pylæ Zagriensis, or Median Pylæ, properly so called, of which the height was estimated by Polybius to be about a hundred stadia.‖ The details of Alexander's return from Ecbatana to Babylon are not sufficiently minute to decide on the precise route which he followed; but as this last pass lies in the shortest and most direct way, there is sufficient ground to infer that it was by this he returned after his expedition against the Cosseans of the mountains, during the winter, with Ptolemy, his general, as related at length by Arrian.¶

From the Tauk we continued still to ascend by a winding path, with a steep valley beneath us, and an abundance of trees and several fine springs around us in different stages of our way,

over these mountains, as that, with a very little trouble, they soon found themselves standing over the heads of those who guarded the passes below. The guards, seeing this, soon fled; and as the Macedonians had now surmounted the chief difficulty of their march, and were in complete possession of the pass, the cities of the Uxians soon submitted to their power. From hence, it is said, the King decamped and marched towards Persia, and the fifth day came to a place called the Susian Rocks, which was another pass, and guarded also by a large Persian force.—*Arrian's Expedition of Alexander*, b. xvii. c. 7. p. 550.

Both these passes were, unquestionably, through the range of hills dividing Persia from the Turkish Empire and from Khusistan, and known among the ancients as Mount Zagros. The first of them may very probably be the present one of the Tauk, where the arch and ancient road remain; and the last, a pass further to the southward, in a line between this place and Persepolis, and nearly abreast of Susa, as its name would suggest.

* Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 744.

† Diodorus Siculus, lib. xix. c. 19.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid. and Arrian's Expedition, b. vii. c. 15.

‖ Polybius Hist. lib. v.

¶ Arrian's Expedition of Alexander, b. vii. c. 15.

when, in about half an hour more, we gained the summit, to enjoy repose for a moment from the toil of our ascent, to feast on an extensive prospect, and to breathe a delicious air. The summit of the mountain is about three thousand feet above the level of the Plain of Bagdad, and two thousand above the level of the Plain of Bagilan, or Ghilan, on which its base reposes, there being at least one thousand feet in progressive ascent from the first of these levels to the last. As Bagdad, however, is elevated from the sea by so much only as is necessary for the descent of the waters of the Tigris into the Persian Gulf, it would not require much to be added to complete the height of this part of Zagros from the level of the ocean; so that three thousand feet may be considered as very near its total elevation from the sea.

On that part of the summit over which we passed, the snow lies for three full months in the winter, so as to render it impassable for caravans, though single passengers and messengers traverse it at all seasons. There are other parts of the chain, to the north-west of this, which are considerably higher, particularly those seen from Altoon Kupry, which were covered with snow in the month of July, when I passed in sight of them; but such parts of the range as we could see from hence to the south-east, were but very little higher than this on which we stood.*

Our descent from the summit of Mount Zagros was more easy than our ascent had been, this lying over round woody hills, with grass turf and weeds on the soil; and in about an hour after leaving the pass we came to the ruins of an old khan, with a new one near it, now building, and not yet half finished. We found, however, sufficient shelter for our small party, and consequently alighted there.

This is called the Khan-el-Tauk, having no town near it to

* There was a Cœle Persis (Koilé Persis,) as well as Cœle-Syria, both expressing a hollow country, as a Syria or Persia between the mountains. The province of Media is styled Kooestan by the Persians, and Al Jebal by the Arabs: both express a region of mountains, corresponding to the Zagros of the Greeks.

give it another name, and the present new one is the work of the Shah Zadé, the King of Persia's son, the existing lord of the district of Kermanshah. Our whole road from Serpool, thus far, had occupied nearly five hours, and was mostly in an easterly direction; but from the nature of our road, the distance, in a straight line, could not have been more than seven or eight miles.

It had been perfectly calm throughout the day, and hot in the plains on the west of the pass, even at sun-rise: but on the summit of the mountain we enjoyed an atmosphere that was truly delicious, cool, yet soft, refreshing, and invigorating, without being at all sharp or biting,—such an air, indeed, as I had not breathed since leaving the delightful spring months on the mountains of Jerusalem.

We had now entered the territory of Persia: the Pass of Zagros, or the Tauk, being the frontier between it and Turkey. There are Koords in the plains on each side of this range of mountains—those on the west being subject to the Pasha of Zohaub, who is tributary to Bagdad; and those on the east to the Shah Zadé of Kermanshah himself, without the intervention of a Pasha of their own.

I had looked about with more than usual care for the vestiges of some distinct race of people here, the descendants of the old Bœotians, who were carried away by Xerxes, and placed near to this Pass of Zagros;* but I had as yet seen none that I should have taken for people of such an origin. The Arabs were too

* Freinshemius, in his Supplement to Quintus, speaks of a city called Celonæ, in the district of Ghilan, inhabited by certain Bœotians whom Xerxes had transported into the East, and who retained strong traces of their origin in their language, which was composed mostly of Greek words, though they spoke also the language of the country in which they dwelt in their commerce with the nations of it.—Vol. ii. p. 545.

Most other authors give this name Celonæ, as the name of a country, or district.

"Tridui deinde itinere emenso Celonas perventum est: oppidum hoc tenent Bœotia profecti, quos Xerxes sedibus suis excitos in Orientem transtulit, servabantque argumentum originis peculiari ex Græcis plerumque vocibus constante, ceterum ob commerciorum necessitatem finitimorum Barbarorum lingua utebantur."

familiar to me to be mistaken wherever I saw them, even among a crowd of strangers; the Koords also are a very marked race, and appear from their physiognomy to be of a Tartar origin; while the Persians are, if possible, a still more distinct family than either.

But, in the course of my enquiries, I learned that there were formerly in these mountains a people called Nessereah, who, like those of the same name in Syria, paid divine honours to the *pudenda muliebris*, and held an annual feast not unlike the ancient mysteries of Venus. They had however made gradual advances towards Mohammedanism, though they still retained this strange mixture of pagan rites among themselves; and while they professed, in the presence of Moslems, to read the Koran, and be followers of the Prophet, they were scarcely ever seen to pray, were known openly to make, sell, and drink wine, to commit incest under the guise of religion, and to have secret laws and opinions which it would be death to any of them to divulge. They had lived long in the mountains in this state of independence, until a series of persecutions and gradual emigration had brought them to settle in the villages around.

The greater part of these people are now at Kerrund, where they form the majority of the population, and are called both Nessereahs and Ali-Ullaheeahs, from some peculiar notions which they have of an incarnation of God in the person of Ali. They are however regarded by all as pagans, and a hundred tales are told to support this opinion. At their annual feast it is said that they all meet in a room, where, after some ceremonies performed by their chief, the lights are put out, and every female takes off her drawers and hangs them on a place in the wall. The men then enter, and each takes down a pair of these drawers, still in the dark, when, the light being renewed, the owner of each garment is sought out, and she becomes the partner of the man who possesses it for the night, or, as some say, his wife for the whole ensuing year.

The opinions and practices of the Nessereah near Aleppo, are

kept equally secret; and the Syrian custom of the hosts giving their wives and daughters to the enjoyment of strangers who sojourn among them at their town of Martowan, is known to all who have passed that way. M. Volney, the first, I believe, who publicly noticed this custom, considers it as the remains of the worship of Venus; and I have little doubt but that the practices of the people here spring from a similar origin, though they themselves are too ignorant of their own history to be conscious of it, as well as too reserved to say what they think. It is clear, however, that no part of Mohammedanism can have led to such rites, since it is as free from all mysteries of that nature as Christianity itself.*

As the original religion of this sect has been thus so mixed with later ones as now scarcely to be identified, so their race has lost all marks of primitive distinction by their having learned the language and the manners of the people by whom they were surrounded—those in Syria speaking only Arabic, and these only Persian and Koordish. The former, however, are said to intermarry only among themselves, which they can well do, from being a numerous people; but here, where they are few, it would be more difficult; intermarriages with Koords and Persians therefore continually happen, which take place the more easily, as from their outward profession there is scarcely any distinguishing these pagans from the purer disciples of Islam.

After all that has been said, it may be judged how far these people are likely to be the remains of the Greeks before spoken of. Rennel, in his Illustrations of the Geography of Herodotus, says: "The Bœotians, (Thebans) carried away by Xerxes, (Polymnia, 233,) were placed in the country of Assyria, at Celonæ, now Ghi-

* A colony of the sect of Ismael, and followers of Hassn Subah, appear to have settled in the mountains between Tortosa and Tripoli, in Syria, as well as here on Mount Zagros. The tribe of Kaindu among the Tartars practised the custom of lending their wives to their friends, as is done by the Nessereeah and Ismaëlies.—*De la Croix Hist. of Chengiz Khan*, p. 86—412.

lan, near the ascent of the Pass of Mount Zagros. This is collected from Diodorus Siculus, lib. xvii. cap. 11. Alexander saw them at Celonæ, on his way from Susa and Sittacene to Ecbatana, after his return from India. Diodorus says, that they had not altogether forgot their laws, their customs, or their language, although they had learned those of the natives by intermarrying This was no more than one hundred and fifty years from the time of their removal from Greece.*

It has been before remarked that Ghilan is still the name of a district, and not of a town; and this district, commencing here at Bagilan, goes all the way down to the ancient Susiana, to the southward. Polybius speaks of the district of Chalonites at the ascent of Zagros, which is no doubt the same with Ghilan and Celonæ.†

SEPT. 12th.—We passed an agreeable night at the Khan-el-Tauk, though we felt keenly the cold of the open air: but this change, after the intense heat of Bagdad, was delightful. We mounted our horses again at day-break, and enjoyed a still higher pleasure in the fresh breeze of the morning. The situation of the khan in a hollow valley, surrounded on all sides by steep rocky mountains and smaller wooded hills, offered us a magnificent sun-rise view.

We went hence, for nearly two hours, in an east-south-east direction, through fine mountain scenery, and woods hemmed in by steep rocks on all sides. The trees were of many kinds, and all in full foliage, but the most numerous were those called in Persian Belloot and Sameel. Springs of water were also abundant, and on the banks through which they ran, we saw not less than a hundred of the large and beautiful mountain partridges of the country. Many syrens, a solitary magpie, and some crested hoopoes were among the number of the rest, but there was neither thrush nor lark to cheer us with their morning songs.

After clearing the mountains, we came out on a fine plain

* Rennel's Illustrations of Herodotus, p. 268. † Polybius Hist. lib. v. c. 5.

covered with Koord huts and villages, the land being well cultivated in some parts, and having good pasture in others. This plain I should conceive to be two thousand feet above the level of Bagdad, as from the summit of the mountain to this its eastern base, we had not come down more than one thousand feet in a perpendicular line. The climate here was like that of an English summer's morning, and we proceeded with such light hearts, that I caught myself singing a song of home, a most unseemly occupation for a bearded pilgrim, and one for which my Dervish gave me a timely check, by exclaiming, "Ya Hadjee! Selah al Nebbe!" "O pilgrim, pray to the Prophet!" not meaning that I should actually alight and perform my devotions in earnest, but merely as a preparatory summons of my attention to some questions with which he very judiciously thought it necessary to interrupt my dangerous dream.

In about an hour after our entering on the plain, we passed a small village, seated under the hills on our left, called Khallet-Zenjey, with many poplar trees, and a fine stream of water descending from it into the plain, but no castle near it, as its name would seem to imply.

In another hour, having gone south-east for two hours over the plain, and been in all about four hours and a half from the Khan-el-Tauk, we entered a fine large caravanserai, a little below the town of Kerrund, and alighted there before noon.

When the necessary care had been taken of our horses, a duty which fell always to my own lot to execute rather than to superintend, we left the khan and walked up to the town, which is about a quarter of a mile to the northward of the high-way. Our road led through narrow stone-hedged lanes, on each side of which were large vineyards and gardens, with an abundance of poplar trees planted in rows. The vines were yet bending beneath the weight of their clusters, and pomegranates studded other trees in full ripeness. The town itself too, as we drew

nearer to it, presented a picture of more comfort and industry combined, than I had yet seen in so small a place, since leaving Syria. It resembled, both in its situation and general aspect, many of the Druse villages in Lebanon, and gave me a favourable impression of the character of those who peopled it.

The town consists of two portions facing each other on opposite sides of a clear stream running down between them. Each of these portions stands on so steep a slope of ground, that the houses rise in stages above each other; and every street, which consists only of one side towards the hill, has the terraces of the houses below on a level with its edge on the other side. Both these portions taken collectively, are seated also at the foot of a bare lime-stone range of rock, which rises up almost perpendicularly behind the town to the north, in spiral points, overlapping each other like so many separate beds of columns tapered away at the upper parts and uniting in one solid mass below.

Before the town to the south, and extending for several miles south-east and north-west, is a fine plain, of the highest fertility, watered by the stream which issues from a cleft in the rock behind the town itself, so that its situation is as favourable for agricultural industry as could be desired. The number of dwellings may amount to five or six hundred, and of inhabitants to nearly two thousand, the greater part of them being Nessereah, and the remainder Mohammedans of the Sheeah sect.

The occupations of both are chiefly agricultural; but by the former of these are manufactured muskets and pistols, of a very superior quality, to the value of a thousand piastres, or 50*l.* sterling, per pair.

My Dervish had halted a week here, on his way from Kermanshah to Bagdad, about a year since, for the sake of a kind and pretty damsel of this Aphrodisian race, who listened to his vows. During the whole of our way he had praised the beauty and the compassionate disposition of this fair one, and promised me a

thousand times, on his eye and his head, that I should see her for myself, and drink out of the same cup as he had done, if I desired it. When we left the khan, therefore, I had indulged the hope of such an interview, and even expected, from the reputed frankness of the fair one's heart, and her hospitality to strangers, to learn some curious particulars regarding the race to which she belonged; but we were both sadly disappointed, the Dervish in his anticipations of pleasure, and I in my hopes of information, when we learnt that, only two months since, a young Koord peasant had married her, and taken her away to his hamlet, where now, perhaps, she discreetly kept all the secrets we should have else attempted to draw from her.

We returned to the khan with heavy steps, and met at the door of it a small caravan, conveying a consignment of dead bodies from Kermanshah. This caravan was composed wholly of mules, each laden with two corpses, one on each side, and a takhteravan, or litter, borne also by mules, though it contained only one body, which was that of a person of some distinction. These were all packed in long narrow cases or coffins, and secured with matting and cordage, like bales of cotton. They were the bodies of devout dead, from different parts of Persia—two from Ispahaun, and one from Shirauz, which were being conveyed for interment to the grounds of Imaum Hussein, at Kerbela. Besides the charge of carriage, which is double that of any other commodity of equal weight, large sums, from two to five thousand piastres, are paid to the Mosque there, for a sufficient space of ground to receive the body, and other presents must be made to the tomb of the Imaum himself; so that this is a distinction which the comparatively rich only can enjoy.

When the animals entered the khan, the bodies laden on the mules were cast off, without ceremony, and placed at random in different parts of the court-yard, the one in the litter alone being paid any attention to; so that, as they were neither marked nor

numbered, they were probably the bodies of individuals who had been just able to pay the lowest price of admission into this sacred ground, and would be laid there without inscriptive stones, or other funeral monument; for it could scarcely happen, from the way in which they were lying about, that they should not be mixed and confounded one with another.

The presence of these dead bodies in the khan made no impression on the living who were there, as the mule-drivers stretched themselves along by the side of them at night, with an indifference that argued their being long familiarized with such cargoes. This was a scene which I could imagine to have been frequent enough in ancient Egypt, where all the population, who could afford it, were embalmed in state, and others, at the charge of the nation, their mummies being transported from place to place, according to their peculiar temple of worship, or their favourite place of burial.

On enquiry of some of the muleteers, who had come up from Mendeli to this place with salt, we learnt that it was five days' journey from hence, in nearly a southern direction, and that there was a river flowing down by it from the northward.

SEPT. 13.—We quitted the khan of Kerrund at sun-rise, and going south-east through the plain before it, we came, in half an hour, to a well, with a deep spring of fine water, called in Koordish, Ain-Chermook, or the White Fountain. We met here some female peasants, who drew water for our horses with great readiness; and as no males of their tribe were near, they laughed and jested with great freedom. None of them were veiled, and few, indeed, had their bodies completely covered. Among them were some fine forms, but their features were coarse, and their complexions browned by the sun; though their long tresses of black glossy hair, and brilliant eyes of the deepest jet, gave an expression of great vivacity to their whole appearance. The village in which they lived was at the foot of the southern hill, and was

called the White Village, giving its name to the fountain at which we drank.

In an hour from hence we entered a narrow valley, of a winding form, called, in Koordish, Teng-e-Rush, or the Black Pass, from its being reputed to be the scène of dark and treacherous deeds. We went through it, however, in safety, and without seeing a living being, though a vigilant look-out was extended on all sides. After ascending through this, we came upon gentle hills and wavy lawns, spread over with trees in full green foliage, which, contrasted with the yellow stubble of the recently reaped corn, produced a most agreeable effect. The whole of the scenery for the next two hours, still in a south-east direction, was indeed as much like that of a fine Eglish park as could be imagined, and resembled very strongly the beautiful grounds between Khallet-el-Hhussan and Tartoose, in Syria.

As we drew towards the termination of our day's journey, the eminences became more abrupt, rocky, and destitute of wood, till at the end of it we came out on another fine plain, stretching from north-west to south-east for nine or ten miles, and being from four to five miles wide, bordered by a ridge of high hills on each side. In our way through this, on the same course, we passed two Koord villages and several small settlements of reed huts; and in two hours from our first entering on it we alighted at the caravansera of Harounabad.

The situation of this town, at the foot of a line of hills, with a stream of water near it, and a wide plain extending along its front is very similar to that of Kerrund. Its style of building is also the same, but it has not the fine vineyards and gardens of that place, there being no Nessereah here to consume the wine. The population of this village scarcely exceeds a thousand, and these are all Persians and Koords of the Sheeah sect. The name of this place signifies "built or peopled by Haroun," but whether by the celebrated Haroun-el-Raschid, or any other of that name, is not

known. The birth-place of this Caliph of Bagdad was the city of Rey, the Rhages of the Scriptures, whose ruins are near to the present Teheran, and this continued always to be one of the chief seats of his magnificence, containing in its splendour, according to Oriental Historians, three millions of inhabitants. As Bagdad became, however, the residence of his latter days, and the tomb of his wife Zobeida is still shown there, this town of Harounabad might have been a station in his way from the one place to the other, retaining his name from some connection with his presence or patronage, now perhaps forgotten.

The stream which rises here is called Serneshoor, and is considerable enough to require a bridge near its source. It goes easterly from hence, and probably falls into the Kara Soo, or river of Kermanshah; but the people, satisfied with its watering their plain, knew nothing further of its course beyond their immediate neighbourhood.

SEPT. 14th.—There being two horsemen going from hence soon after midnight, who intended making the two stages to Kermanshah in one, we determined to accompany them, and mounting when the moon had risen, we went together south-east over the plain, and along the stream of Serneshoor, for half an hour. From hence we turned up northerly through rocky hills, by a nearer bye-path, known to our companions only, and passing over them came again into the high-road on a course of east north-east.

A little before day-light we ascended a very rugged steep, which was appropriately called in Persian "Kotel-Nal-Shikund," or "The horse-shoe-destroying Hill." Our course after this was all the way east north-east, and we seemed to be gradually raising our level by every successive hill, until the sun-rise opened to us the beautiful prospect of "Mahee-Dusht," or the "yearly-birth-giving-plain." This presented to us an extent of about fifteen miles in length, by ten in breadth, of perfect level, stretching from north north-west to south south-east, and bounded

by lofty hills with ragged summits on the one side, and by gentler and more rounded ones on the other.

It was studded with villages in every direction, not less than twenty of which presented themselves successively to our view; some on little eminences in the plain itself, and others peeping out from nooks and valleys in the sides of the hills, which opened but for a moment on our sight, and then closed again as we passed along. These villages were formed of well-built houses, many of them containing apparently two hundred separate dwellings; and besides these was a still greater number of grass and reed huts scattered in clusters over the face of the plain. The soil was watered by a clear stream, at the source of which we drank. It issued from the foot of the hill, from the brow of which the view first opened on us, and only a few paces to the left of our road. It is called the "Water of Mahee-Dusht," and is said to lose itself in that plain, extending its fertilizing influence no further.

The land was divided into apparently equal portions of arable and pasture; the corn grown on it is praised for its excellence, and the virtues of its grass are particularly celebrated. The popular opinion is, that even barren animals brought from other parts will there become fruitful; and it is said that every species of cattle bred on this plain, and continuing constantly to graze there, will bring forth its young, invariably, every year, from whence its expressive name. Others, however, give this epithet a different interpretation, and say that it signifies "the yearly-purchase-giving-plain," meaning, that whosoever may buy a portion of the soil there, or place animals of any given worth to graze upon it, will every year reap the amount of his purchase in actual profit on them; or in other words, make a profit of cent. per cent. per annum. A long dispute was maintained on this subject, even in our small party, which was at last amicably terminated by the general admission that such a name was chiefly meant to indicate

the great fertility and excellent qualities of the soil; and that in either case the epithet was sufficiently expressive.

We continued to go east-north-east over the plain, for upwards of an hour, when we reached the caravanserai, having been about six hours on our road from Harounabad, on a general course of east-north-east. There were only a few dwellings near the khan, which had been erected on the banks of the stream that ran by it, for the shelter and supply of passengers halting on the road; and even from these, though small, we procured what we had not been able to do from the largest towns since leaving Bagdad. We found here milk, lebben, cheese, dates, good bread, and fruits of several kinds, in abundance; so that we enjoyed our repose, and prolonged it until noon before we prepared to move.

After prayers, we remounted and continued our way, still going across the plain in an east-north-east direction, and having the high and ragged summits of the mountains of Bisitoon in sight above the range that formed the boundary of the plain before us. In about two hours we reached the foot of this boundary, when we began to ascend over bare hills, and through uninteresting scenery, with a total absence of wood. In half an hour we halted, and drank at a fountain of excellent water, rising in the hills, called in Koordish "Ain-el-Koosh," and considered to be exactly half-way between the khan of Mahee-Dusht and Kermanshah. From hence, after a short ascent, we went over two or three swelling eminences, till we came in sight of the gardens of Kermanshah, the fresh and verdant bowers of which offered a beautiful contrast to the brown aspect of the barren hills. We now began to meet crowds of passengers issuing from the town, many of them apparently coming out on an evening excursion only; and about sunset we came in sight of the town itself.

We watered our horses at a small stream just below, and in the immediate skirts of the town; but not at the Kara Soo, as the maps had led me to expect from their placing that river west of Ker-

manshah. The appearance of the place, from this point of view, was that of a very large provincial town, but not of one which was the seat of Royalty. There were neither lofty minarets nor fine domes to be seen, and excepting the harem of the Shah Zadé, seated on an eminence in the midst of a verdant garden, and the octagonal and flat-topped kiosque of his own dwelling in the castle, there were no striking objects to arrest the attention.

We entered by a mean gate, through a wall newly built of unburnt bricks, flanked by round towers, turreted, and showing loopholes for musketry, and ports for cannon; but without a ditch, or any mounted ordnance on the battlements. The first streets through which we passed, after entering the town, were not superior to those of the commonest villages, but we soon came to works of a better description. The whole town seemed to be in a state of building, as if just rising from the ashes of some former one, or just founded by a colony of foreign settlers. We now went through fine streets in every stage of their progress,—from those just finished to those but newly begun. All was like the bustle and activity of a perfectly new place. The shops were decked with finery, as if to catch the eye, and force themselves into early custom. There seemed an abundance of every thing to be desired, both necessaries and luxuries. The half-built streets and new bazars were thronged with people, all extremely busy, and intent on some important errand.

I fancied myself in what I should have expected a Chinese town to be,—amidst a crowded and active population, seeing on every side ingenious devices to attract the attention, and hearing at every moment the cries of those who did not depend on the mere silent exhibition of their wares alone to sell them. Every thing offered a striking contrast to the towns of Turkey and Arabia. There were no coffee-houses at which grave idlers were lounging over their pipes; no slow and solemn-paced passengers who moved as if for pleasure only; no fine flowing dresses or gay

colours, compatible only with stately attitudes and a freedom from menial occupations; no narrow and dark passages to exclude the rays of the sun; and neither mosques nor camels to complete the characteristics of great Oriental towns. But in lieu of these were seen a hundred better pledges of the ingenuity, comfort, cleanliness, and activity of the people, and the gratifying sight of building and repair instead of gradual neglect and decay.

We made our way through the town, passing by all the large khans, until, arriving at its further extremity, we found a small caravanserai, in which were only a few poor workmen having chambers; but as we were likely to find here the privacy we so much desired, we accordingly alighted and took up our quarters in this welcome obscurity.

CHAPTER V.

VISITS AT KERMANSHAH, TO THE FRIENDS OF MY COMPANION.

SEPT. 15th.—We took an early walk through all the principal parts of the town; in the course of which, my companion, the Dervish Ismael, met with a hundred of his old acquaintances, and forty or fifty of his best friends, he having been at different periods a frequent resident of Kermanshah. The salutations between them were in all cases cordial, but with the chosen few it was that of the closest and fondest affection. They kissed each other on the lips, on the cheeks, and on the shoulders; drew off to look for a moment face to face, as if to assure themselves that the joy of meeting was not a mere illusion; and re-embraced again and again, with greater warmth than before. We were thus taken into several private parties, saw the interior of many of the largest

houses, and were entertained after the best manner of the country. All these were gratifying advantages, and afforded me much unexpected pleasure; but it was still inferior to the gratification I derived from witnessing at every succeeding interview, so much of cordial attachment and friendly joy, which unequivocally displayed itself in those happy meetings of men who evidently regarded each other sincerely.

Every step of our road from Bagdad thus far, had given me more favourable impressions of the general character of my companion than I had anticipated. The extent of his information, and the depth of his metaphysical researches, had often surprised me; while, though several dark spots tainted his history, there was nevertheless such a total absence of the meaner qualities of the soul, so high and independent a spirit, so frank and undisguised a heart, and so much of charity and benevolence mingled with every feeling to which it gave birth, that the good seemed to me to outweigh by far the evil. I could not therefore but feel an esteem for the man, mixed with a constant and a deep regret that so much natural talent and overflowing benevolence of disposition should have been half lost, and half perverted to worthless purposes, from the want of a proper bias being given by education and example in youth.

Ismael, for such was his name, was by birth an Aghwan, or Affghan, from the country between Hindoostan and Turkomania. His father was poor, but avaricious to an extreme degree; and he conceived that it was the constant sight of this sordid passion displayed before him in its excess, which gave him a contempt for wealth and worldly honours at an early period of his life.

His brothers, he said, were of similar dispositions with their father; and he therefore left them all, before he had attained his tenth year, and that too without a sigh of regret, excepting only those with which he answered a fond mother's tears, as she wept over her darling boy at parting. He promised, however,

constantly to think of her, and to prove a friend when all the world should have neglected her.

After wandering through the whole of the Khorassaun, visiting the great city of Bokhara in the north, and obtaining always the mere supply of food and raiment which he desired, by the occupations which fortune threw in his way, he came down through Persia to Bagdad, and there for a period settled.

He had by this time read most of the Poets and Philosophers of the East, since he already understood the Persian, the Turkish, and the Arabic languages, sufficiently well to write in each. He had studied Astronomy, Alchemy, and Physiognomy, as sciences,—not on those principles of demonstration which form the basis of scientific pursuits in Europe, but after the best manner which the learning and learned men of the country could point out to him. He had come at last, however, to the conclusion of the Royal Hebrew, who was called the wisest of men, that all was vanity and vexation of spirit. Like this luxurious monarch, he had tasted of every pleasure which either courage or money could procure him. In his pursuit of sensual enjoyments, he had broken down every barrier of moral or religious prohibition; and, conceiving himself to be the lord of his own soul, without future tribunal or account, had launched into the abyss of forbidden gratifications—in which he became so deeply immersed, that the satiety of their excess, as he himself expressed it, wrought out its own cure.

At Bagdad he became more correct in his conduct, though still equally regardless of wealth or of worldly honours. Having an extraordinary talent as an engraver, he applied himself to the engraving of rings and seals; in which he soon became so celebrated, that there was not his equal throughout the land of Islam. Applications were made to him from Constantinople and all the great towns of Turkey, as well as from every part of Persia, from Tabriz to Shiraz. As his charges were always extravagantly high,

from his consciousness of being without a rival, and from its requiring a very powerful inducement to draw him either from his studies or his pleasures, money flowed fast into his purse. Had he possessed half the avarice of his father, he might soon have been a wealthy man; but the moment that he found himself master of a sufficient sum, he quitted Bagdad on an excursion of pleasure, generally into some parts of Persia, where he remained until all was expended, and then returned to his occupations to recruit and prepare for further relaxations. Without this variety, he said, life would be insupportable; at the best, he thought it had too much of monotony, even in its pleasures, for a vivid and ardent mind; and if this were not relieved by those occasional flashes of joy, and pangs of torture, which at one moment intoxicate, and at another harrow up the soul of the man of feeling, it would be better to terminate than to continue a life not worth the trouble of preserving.

Ismael had been known to the English residents at Bagdad for several years, during which period he had executed a number of seals and rings in a way that could be done by no one else in the city. He was well known, therefore, both to Mr. Rich and Mr. Hine, who equally approved of my making him the guide and companion of my future journey.

The circumstances under which our intimacy took place were these:—Being desirous of having a seal-ring engraved, for my own use, with the Arabic name of Abdallah-ibn-Suliman, the Dervish Ismael was sent for by the gentlemen of the house, and was brought by Mr. Hine to my chamber. Some complimentary salutations having passed between us, we sat down together; and, Mr. Hine leaving us alone, when the order for the seal was perfectly explained, we fell into other topics of conversation. Not many minutes had passed, however, before my visitor started up hastily and exclaimed:—"W'Allah! ya Hadjee Abdallah, in can t'roakh al thaany Doonya, ana u'idjey maak"—By God, O!

Pilgrim Abdallah! if you go even to the other world, I will follow you." I answered "Al Ullah,"—It rests with God. And thus our first interview ended.

I had thought no more of this affair, regarding it as the mere flight of a capricious fancy; but the Dervish himself was more in earnest than I had conceived. He went immediately to declare his wish to Mr. Rich, who treated it as I had done myself; and thus the matter remained suspended. Some few days afterwards the ring was brought, when Ismael then told me that he had made every thing ready for his departure, and would not listen to a refusal. I was myself perfectly passive in the case; as it was a matter of indifference to me who my companion was, provided he understood Arabic and Persian, of the last of which languages I knew but little. Mr. Rich still thought, as before, that so apparently capricious a determination was not likely to last; and that I might therefore be abandoned on the road, if I went with the Dervish only. Mr. Hine, however, thought he knew sufficiently of Ismael's character to vouch for his fidelity, and advised me to take him with me, as he desired.

In all this, not a word was said about the time of service, or of the compensation expected for it. The affair was concluded as a matter of pure attachment, by his saying, "I shall lose here the opportunity of gaining two or three thousand piastres for the execution of orders now on my hands; I shall suffer more in tearing myself away from two or three friends who are very dear to me, and from one tender object of my affections who is of far more value to me than my own existence; but from the moment that I saw you and heard your voice, I felt that your soul contained what I had all my life been searching for in vain, and that it was my destiny to follow you wherever you might go." He added, "I shall go and bury my sorrows in the bosom of love, and await the moment of our separation with all the tranquillity of a soul resigned to its fate." I did all that was in my power to combat this illusion, for such it evidently was, but in vain. The Dervish

remained fixed in his purpose, beyond all the power of entreaty or refusal to shake it.

When the day of our departure from Bagdad came, Ismael appeared before me in tears, and his eyes were red and swoln with shedding them; but when I asked him why he would make such painful sacrifices for my sake, he answered only by beating his hand violently upon his heart, stifling a deep sob, and turning aside his head to hide the vehemence of his grief. We armed ourselves in my room, before we descended into the court to mount; and when I braced on my pistols, he handled them, and tried their locks with a sort of frantic pleasure. His own musket, which was a small East India military one, of English make, pleased him extremely; and he tried the elasticity of my lance, shaking his head at the same time, and regretting that he was not expert in the use of so appropriate a weapon as this was for a horseman. He examined every item of my baggage with scrupulous attention, demanded to know the exact sum of money which I took with me, and what was the nature of the papers I possessed. In short, his behaviour appeared to me so strange and unaccountable, that I felt myself now and then relapsing into those suspicions which my kind advisers had previously removed. But my naturally confiding disposition overcame all doubts, and I was ultimately quite satisfied with the arrangements made.

We set out therefore together, without any other feeling on my part than a strong desire to know more of my companion, whose conduct appeared so inexplicable,—and every day partially accomplished that wish. At the gate of Bagdad, Ismael was met by an elderly Christian merchant, whose name was Elias, and the parting between these was like that of a father and a son separating never again to meet. Tears flowed fast from the eyes of both; and when I learnt that this venerable old man was the father of Ismael's love, there was something associated with the idea of a Moslem Dervish dying with affection for the daughter of a Christian merchant; (and these—though one was poor and

despised the world, and the other wealthy and attached to it—hanging over each other's necks in all the sorrow of the most closely united souls,)—there was something in all this so strange, yet so affecting, that I felt my own sympathies powerfully touched by the scene.

On our way, the Dervish was always too much occupied, either by his own reflections, or in conversation with me, to attend to the common duties of the road; so that all these, as I expected, had fallen on me. But for this I was prepared; and although they occupied more of my time than was favourable to making such ample observations on our route as I desired, yet they in no way interrupted the general tranquillity of my mind, and I was therefore content and happy.

The Dervish was as regardless of his own immediate concerns as of mine; for, after quitting Bakouba, he had lost a purse containing forty-five gold sequins,—a small bag, in which were some fine stones that he had promised to engrave for his friends, during his absence, at the first place he should find leisure,—as well as a paper, in which were written certain commissions for him to execute for his friend Elias, from Ispahan, the loss of which last affected him more deeply than all the rest.

We had travelled thus far, however, happily together; and each appeared satisfied with the other. On the road, the Dervish scarcely ate or drank sufficiently to support nature, and slept always on the bare earth without a covering. His sleep was seldom tranquil: for, besides his speaking dreams, I had been often awakened by him in the night, when I found him sitting in a corner, smoking his short pipe formed only of the clay-ball without a stem, and either repeating some passages of Persian poetry, or sighing out occasional lamentations in his native tongue.

We were in every sense of the word companions; and though the vigilance of our look-out when alone, or the fear of being betrayed to suspicious observers when in a caravan, occasioned us

to talk but little when on horseback; yet, when we had alighted at the caravanserai, and the evening shadows came to veil us from the observation of others, we often sat up in close conversation together until midnight. It was in the course of these communions that I had learned such of the particulars of his history as are already detailed, with other still more striking features of his disposition.

It must be premised that this man, though bred a Moslem, and always supposed to have so continued,—as any recantation of the faith in one born a believer is punished with death,—had reasoned himself out of all belief in any revealed religion whatever. His notions on this subject, and his reasons for the opinion which he entertained that all the reputed Prophets were either misguided zealots or shameless impostors, were so like those of Deists in most countries as to need no detail. He professed his admiration, however, of the precept which enjoined us 'to do unto others as we would they should do unto us;' but, like many others who publicly make this the rule of their conduct, he very frequently departed from it. His passions were by nature too powerful, and through life had reigned too long without control, to be made subject to any laws: so that, when doctrines stood in the way of his pleasures, he invariably trampled them under foot.

His companions and bosom friends in Bagdad were two Moslems: one a Persian of the Sheeah sect, the chief Mollah of the Tomb of Imaum Moosa, the author of many existing books on science and philosophy, and by far the most learned man of that city; the other an Arab Soonnee, a Mollah also, of the Mosque of the Vizier, near the banks of the Tigris at Bagdad. Besides these, were eight or ten wealthy Christian merchants, Armenians and Catholics, who were known to each other as fellow members of a secret society, calling themselves 'Mutuffuk b'el Filosofeeah,' or 'United by Philosophy.' These men met occasionally at the house of one or other of the Christian members, and there

gave loose to every sort of debauchery which could be indulged in as pleasure. Music, wine, lascivious dances, women, and, in short, all that was deemed voluptuous, was yielded to; so that the Bacchanalia of ancient Rome seemed to be revived by these Eastern libertines.

During the late Ramadan, nearly a thousand pounds sterling was expended, among this knot of philosophers, for women only; by which, however, they procured those of the first distinction in the place, both wives and daughters of those high in office and in wealth. That such things are practicable and practised, is beyond a doubt; and, indeed, when the very separate state in which the women live from the men, their liberty of going out and coming in when they please, except in royal harems where they are guarded by eunuchs, and the impossibility of recognizing one woman from another in their street-dresses, be considered,—one cannot but subscribe to the opinion of Lady Mary Wortley Montague, 'that as far as the safety of intrigue is implied by liberty, the women of Turkey have more than those of Europe.' The separate purses of the husband and the wife, and the stated allowances of the latter, contribute very powerfully to their infidelity. Shut out from that open intercourse with men which the females of Europe enjoy, and denied the benefit of education, the only pleasures they know are those of the passions, a love of novelty in suitors for their favours, and a fondness for finery in dress. As, however, they seldom entertain any decided preference for particular individuals, and would find it generally difficult to indulge their choice, all affairs of this nature are conducted by inferior agents, and money is the only standard by which the claims of the solicitors are measured. When the sum is once fixed, the rest is easily accomplished; and whole nights are passed by supposed faithful wives in the arms of others, without their being missed by their husbands, since it is not the fashion of the country for married people to share constantly the same bed. Three thousand piastres, or

about one hundred and fifty pounds sterling, were currently named as the price of the daughter of the Dufterdar Effendi, one of the Secretaries of State; and this sum was said to have been actually paid by an old Christian merchant who had a wife and twelve children of his own!

Amidst all this, I was at a loss to conceive how the Dervish could find much enjoyment, while labouring under the strong passion which I supposed he must then have felt for the object of his affections at Bagdad, whom he had quitted with so much reluctance. What was my surprise, however, on seeking an explanation of this seeming inconsistency, to find it was the son, and not the daughter, of his friend Elias who held so powerful a hold on his heart! I shrunk back from the confession as a man would recoil from a serpent on which he had unexpectedly trodden; and I was struck silent from further enquiry, as one would be averse to moving forward while so venomous and deadly a reptile lay in his path. I was delighted to find, however, at last, that this was a pure and honourable passion. His fondness for the boy was of such a nature as that he could not suffer him ever to leave the house, or be profaned by his exposure to the sight of others, keeping him always as sacred as the most secluded member of the harem; and in answers to enquiries naturally suggested by the subject, he declared he would rather suffer death than do the slightest harm to so pure, so innocent, so heavenly a creature as this. The friendship existing between the father of the child and its avowed lover, seemed to prove at least that the parent was satisfied as to the nature of the feeling; and all that I saw myself, though I then thought it was for a *female* person, still appeared to me, even after I was undeceived in this particular, to be the result of a genuine effusion of nature, and in no way the symptoms of a depraved feeling.

I remembered all that had been said on the subject of the love of boys among the Greeks, by those who conceived it to be a pure

and honourable affection, as well as by those who thought the contrary. M. De Pauw's remarks on the beauty of the Grecian youth were fresh in my recollection, and Archbishop Potter's apology for, or defence of the practice, as springing from an honourable source, were still familiar to me. This instance seemed so strong a confirmation of the possibility of such a passion existing, and being yet productive of no corrupt effects, that I had no longer any doubt but that the greater number of instances were of this kind.

The remarks of Archbishop Potter on this subject are so much to the purpose, that it may not be deemed irrelevant to introduce them here: He says:—

'Who it was that first introduced the custom of loving boys into Greece is uncertain; however (to omit the infamous amours of Jupiter, Orpheus, Laïus of Thebes, and others,) we find it generally practised by the ancient Grecians, and that not only in private, but by the public allowance and encouragement of their laws; for they thought there could be no means more effectual to excite their youth to noble undertakings, nor any greater security to their commonwealths, than this generous passion. This the invaders of their liberties so often experienced, that it became a received maxim in the politics of tyrants, to use all their endeavours to extirpate it out of their dominions; some instances whereof we have in Athenæus: on the contrary, free commonwealths and all those states that consulted the advancement of their own honour, seem to have been unanimous in establishing laws to encourage and reward it. Let us take a view of some few of them.

'First, we shall find it to have been so generally practised, so highly esteemed in Crete, that such of their well-born and beautiful youths as never had any lovers, incurred the public censure, as persons some way or other faulty in their morals; as if nothing else could hinder but that some one's affections would be placed

upon them: but those that were more happy in being admired, were honoured with the first seats at public exercises, and wore, for a distinguishing badge of honour, a sort of garment richly adorned; this they still retained after they arrived to man's estate, in memory they had once been κλεινοὶ, *eminent*, which was the name the Cretans gave to youths who had lovers. The lovers themselves were called Φιλήτορες. One thing was remarkable in this place, that the lovers always took their boys by force; for, having placed their affections upon any one, they gave notice of it to his relations, and withal certified them what day they designed to take him; if the lover was unworthy of the boy, they refused to yield him up; but if his quality and virtues were answerable, they made some slight opposition to satisfy the law, and pursued him to his lodgings, but then gave their consent. After this, the lover carried the boy whither he pleased, the persons that were present at the rape bearing him company. He entertained him some time, two months at the farthest, with hunting and such diversions; then they returned him home. At his departure, it was ordered by law that the boy should receive a suit of armour, an ox, and a cup, to which the lover usually added out of his own bounty several other presents of value. The boy being returned home, sacrificed the ox to Jupiter, made an entertainment for those that had accompanied him in his flight, and gave an account of the usage he had from his lover; for in case he was rudely treated, the law allowed him satisfaction. It is farther affirmed by Maximus the Tyrian, that during all the time of their converse together, nothing unseemly, nothing repugnant to the ancient laws of virtue passed between them; and however some authors are inclined to have hard thoughts of this custom, yet the testimonies of many others, with the high characters given by the ancients of the old Cretan constitutions, by which it was approved, are sufficient to vindicate it from all false imputations. The same is put beyond dispute by what Strabo tells us, that it was not so

much the external beauty of a boy as his virtuous disposition, his modesty, and courage, which recommended him.

'From the Cretans pass we to the Lacedæmonians, several of whose constitutions were derived from Crete. Their love of boys was remarkable all over Greece, and for the whole conduct and excellent consequences of it every where admired. There was no such thing as presents passed between the lovers, no foul arts were used to insinuate themselves into one another's affections; their love was generous, and worthy the Spartan education; it was first entertained from a mutual esteem of one another's virtue; and the same cause which first inspired the flame, did alone serve to nourish and continue it; it was not tainted with so much as a suspicion of immodesty. Agesilaus is said to have refused so much as to kiss the boy he loved, for fear of censure: and if a person attempted any thing upon a youth besides what consisted with the strictest rules of modesty, the laws (however encouraging a virtuous love) condemned him to disgrace, whereby he was deprived of almost all the privileges of free denizens. The same practice was allowed the women toward their own sex, and was so much in fashion among them, that the most staid and virtuous matrons would publicly own their passion for a modest and beautiful virgin, which is a farther confirmation of the innocency of this custom. Maximus the Tyrian assures us the Spartans loved their boys no otherwise than a man may be enamoured with a beautiful statue, which he proves from what Plutarch likewise reports, that though several men's fancies met in one person, yet did not that cause any strangeness or jealousy among them, but was rather the beginning of a very intimate friendship, whilst they all jointly conspired to render the beloved boy the most accomplished in the world; for the end of this love was, that the young men might be improved in all virtuous and commendable qualities, by conversing with men of probity and experience; whence the lover and the beloved shared the honour and disgrace of each other;

the lover especially was blamed if the boy offended, and suffered what punishment was due to his fault. Plutarch has a story of a Spartan fined by the magistrates, because the lad whom he loved cried out effeminately whilst he was fighting. The same love continued when the boy was come to man's estate; he still preserved his former intimacy with his lover, imparted to him all his designs, and was directed by his counsels, as appears from another of Plutarch's relations concerning Cleomenes, who, before his advancement to the kingdom, was beloved by one Xenares, with whom he ever after maintained a most intimate friendship, till he went about his project of new-modelling the commonwealth, which Xenares not approving, departed from him, but still remained faithful to him and concealed his designs.

'If we pass from Sparta to Athens, we shall find that there Solon forbade slaves to love boys, making that an honourable action, and, as it were, inviting (these are Plutarch's words) the worthy to practise what he commanded the unworthy to forbear. That lawgiver himself is said to have loved Pisistratus, and the most eminent men in that commonwealth submitted to the same passion. Socrates, who died a martyr for disowning the pagan idolatry, is very remarkable for such amours, yet seems not whilst alive to have incurred the least suspicion of dishonesty; for what else could be the cause that when Callias, Thrasymachus, Aristophanes, Anytus, and Melitus, with the rest of his enemies, accused him of teaching Critias to tyrannize, for sophistry, for contempt of the gods, and other crimes, they never so much as upbraided him with impure love, or for writing or discoursing upon that subject? And though some persons, especially in later ages, and perhaps unacquainted with the practice of the old Grecians, have called in question that philosopher's virtue in this point, yet both he and his scholar Plato are sufficiently vindicated from that imputation by Maximus the Tyrian, to whom I refer the reader. The innocency of this love may farther appear from their severe

laws enacted against immodest love, whereby the youths that entertained such lovers were declared infamous and rendered incapable of public employments, and the persons that prostituted them condemned to die. Several other penalties were likewise ordered to deter all men from so heinous and detestable a crime, as appears from the laws of Athens, described in one of the foregoing books.

'There are many other examples of this nature, whereof I shall only mention one more: it shall be taken from the Thebans, whose lawgivers, Plutarch tells us, encouraged this excellent passion to temper the manners of their youth; nor were they disappointed of their expectation, a pregnant evidence whereof (to omit others) we have in the ἱερὰ φάλαγξ, or sacred band; it was a party of three hundred chosen men, composed of lovers and their beloved, and therefore called sacred; it gained many important victories, was the first that ever overcame the Spartans (whose courage till then seemed irresistible) upon equal terms, and was never beaten till the battle at Cheronea; after which, king Philip, taking a view of the slain, and coming to the place where these three hundred, who had fought his whole phalanx, lay dead together, he was struck with wonder, and understanding that it was the band of lovers, he said, weeping, 'Let them perish who suspect that these men either did or suffered any thing base.'' *

I took the greatest pains to ascertain, by a severe and minute investigation, how far it might be possible to doubt of the purity of the passion by which this Affghan Dervish was possessed, and whether it deserved to be classed with that described as prevailing among the ancient Greeks; and the result fully satisfied me that both were the same. Ismael was, however, surprised beyond measure, when I assured him that such a feeling was not known at all among the people of Europe. 'But how?' said he: 'Has

* Archæologia Græca, vol. ii. chap. ix. p. 239, 8vo ed. 1820.

Nature then constituted you of different materials from other men? Can you behold a youth, lovely as the moon, chaste, innocent, playful, generous, kind, amiable,—in short, containing all the perfections of innocent boyhood, which like the most delicate odour of the rose, exists only in the bud, and becomes of a coarser and less lovely kind when blown into maturity—can you look on a being, so fit for Heaven as this is, and not involuntarily love it?' I agreed with him that a sort of admiration or affection might be the result, but I at the same time strove to mark the distinction between an esteem founded on the admiration of such rare qualities, and any thing like a regard for the person. I did not succeed, however, in convincing him; for, to his mind, no such distinction seemed to exist; and he contended, that if it were possible for a man to be enamoured of every thing that is fair, and lovely, and good and beautiful, in a *female* form, without a reference to the enjoyment of the person, which feeling may most unquestionably exist, so the same sentiment might be excited towards similar charms united in a youth of the other sex, without reference to any impure desires; and that, in short, in such a case, the lover would feel as much repugnance at the intrusion of any unchaste thought, as would the admirer of a virtuous girl at the exhibition of any indelicacy, or the presence of any thing, indeed, which could give offence to the strictest propriety in their mutual intercourse.

The Dervish added a striking instance of the force of these attachments, and the sympathy which was felt in the sorrows to which they led, by the following fact from his own history. The place of his residence, and of his usual labour, was near the bridge of the Tigris, at the gate of the Mosque of the Vizier. While he sat here, about five or six years since, surrounded by several of his friends, who came often to enjoy his conversation and beguile the tedium of his work, he observed, passing among the crowd, a young and beautiful Turkish boy, whose eyes met his, as if by

destiny, and they remained fixedly gazing on each other for some time. The boy, after 'blushing like the first hue of a summer morning,' passed on, frequently turning back to look on the person who had regarded him so ardently. The Dervish felt his heart 'revolve within him,' for such was his expression, and a cold sweat came across his brow. He hung his head upon his graving-tool in dejection, and excused himself to those about him, by saying he felt suddenly ill. Shortly afterwards, the boy returned, and after walking to and fro several times, drawing nearer and nearer, as if under the influence of some attracting charm, he came up to his observer, and said, 'Is it really true, then, that you love me?' 'This,' said Ismael, 'was a dagger in my heart; I could make no reply.' The friends who were near him, and now saw all explained, asked him if there had been any previous acquaintance existing between them. He assured them that they had never seen each other before. 'Then,' they replied, 'such an event must be from God.'

The boy continued to remain for a while with this party, told with great frankness the name and rank of his parents, as well as the place of his residence, and promised to repeat his visit on the following day. He did this regularly for several months in succession, sitting for hours by the Dervish, and either singing to him, or asking him interesting questions, to beguile his labours, until, as Ismael expressed himself, 'though they were still two bodies, they became one soul.' The youth at length fell sick, and was confined to his bed, during which time his lover, Ismael, discontinued entirely his usual occupations, and abandoned himself completely to the care of his beloved. He watched the changes of his disease with more than the anxiety of a parent, and never quitted his bed-side, night or day. Death at length separated them; but even when this stroke came, the Dervish could not be prevailed on to quit the corpse. He constantly visited the grave that contained the remains of all he held dear on earth, and,

planting myrtles and flowers there, after the manner of the East, bedewed them daily with his tears.

His friends sympathized powerfully in his distress, which, he said, 'continued to feed his grief,' until he pined away to absolute illness, and was near following the fate of him whom he deplored. On quitting Bagdad, however, the constant succession of new scenes and new events that befel him, in an excursion through Persia to Khorasan, progressively obliterated the deep impressions which sorrow had made upon his happiness. It was on this occasion, of his leaving the city, that his feelings burst forth in an elegiac 'Ode to Love,' which he paraphrased from his native tongue, the Pushtoo, into Arabic; and even in that form it appeared exceedingly eloquent, and reminded me powerfully of the praises which Anacreon bestowed on his lovely, and, perhaps, equally chaste Bathyllus.

From all this, added to many other examples of a similar kind, related as happening between persons who had often been pointed out to me in Arabia and Persia, I could no longer doubt the existence in the East of an affection for male youths, of as pure and honourable a kind as that which is felt in Europe for those of the other sex. The most eminent scholars have contended for the purity of a similar passion, which not only prevailed, but as we have already seen, was publicly countenanced, and praised, in Greece; and if the passion there could be a chaste one, it may be admitted to be equally possible here. De Pauw ascribes it in that country to the superior beauty of the males to the females, which is hardly likely to have been the sole cause; but, even admitting the admiration of personal beauty to have entered largely into the sources of this singular direction of feeling, it would be as unjust to suppose that this necessarily implied impurity of desire, as to contend that no one could admire a lovely countenance and a beautiful form in the other sex, and still be inspired with sentiments of the most pure and honourable nature toward the object of his admiration.

One powerful reason why this passion may exist in the East while it is quite unknown in the West, is probably the seclusion of women in the former, and the freedom of access to them in the latter. People of such warm imaginations and high sensibilities as some among the Asiatics unquestionably are, must pour out their hearts and discharge the overflowing affections of their nature on something, and they are likely to fix them on that which they deem most amiable and lovely among the objects familiar to them. Had they the unrestrained intercourse which we enjoy with such superior beings as the virtuous and accomplished females of our own country, they would find nothing in nature so deserving of their love as these. But in countries where scarcely a virtuous and never an accomplished female exists, where almost every woman is without education, and where opportunity and high payment are all that is required to make the most chaste a willing prey; in countries, in short, where, besides the debased state of female society, men are so completely shut out even from this, that the occasional sight of their beauty cannot inflame them, where can any thing so love-inspiring else be found, as a young, an innocent, an amiable, and an intelligent youth? And who but those of the very basest of their species, would think of degrading, even in their own eyes, a being, whether male or female, whom they devotedly and sincerely loved?

Such debauchees as we have in England, who pride themselves on the number of innocent girls they have seduced and betrayed, might perhaps do so; but these are surely not a criterion by which to judge the great mass of any country. Even where custom and habit may have deadened the feelings of shame at this crime, the voice of nature must be always heard to plead against it. And such, indeed, is the fact; for while the Jelabs or public boys of Turkey and Persia are as much despised and shunned in those countries, as abandoned women are with us, or even more so; the youths who are the avowed favourites or beloved of particular individuals, are as much re-

spected, and thought as honourably of, as any virtuous girl, whose amiable qualities should have procured her an honourable lover, while her companions were seeking in vain for such a distinction.

But it is time to return from a digression, which it is hoped will not be thought wholly irrelevant, as tending to elucidate a very important feature in the manners of the East, and one on which much misconception exists. My Dervish, then, notwithstanding this disposition, unknown and almost inconceivable among us, had many excellent qualities which Europeans, as well as Asiatics, know how to appreciate. He was brave and fearless in the highest degree, a virtue in the estimation of all men, from the savage to the sage. He had a heart that felt most warmly for the distresses of the poor, and had relieved many from his own purse, and pleaded the cause of others in appeals to mine, during the short time we had been together. On our route, we had found a little orphan boy, whom his master had left behind him on the road, from his incapacity to walk as fast as the daily journeys of the caravan. As his feet had swollen from his being shoeless, Ismael set him on his own horse, and walked from Harounabad all the way to this place, on his account alone. Not satisfied with this, he had this morning sought out his master in a khan, publicly reproved him for his cruelty and want of feeling, purchased a pair of shoes for the lad himself, and gave him two sequins to provide against any similar abandonment. He had been hitherto faithful in all his transactions with me, whether it regarded his word or the unlimited use of my purse, and I believe him to have been sincere in his expressions of gratitude for my consenting to take him with me. He had brought his mother to Bagdad in her old age, and supported both her and her widowed sister with a large family of children for several years, always leaving with them a sufficient sum of money whenever he quitted that place on an excursion of pleasure. And to close all, he was apparently beloved by every one who knew him for any length of time, which a man can hardly be

without having many real claims to esteem. In Bagdad, besides the gentlemen of the English Residency, who thought highly of his general character, and those of his other friends who all spoke to me of his intended absence with regret, there was not one among more than fifty that we had met to-day who did not salute and embrace him warmly, expressing a hope that he was come to make some stay among them, and evincing great disappointment, and even sorrow, when he spoke of his being merely the passenger of an hour.

When evening approached, after we had passed a day of continued entertainment, with scarcely any other intermission than our passage from one house to another in different quarters of the town, we supped together in a party of a dozen of the most select, at the house of a new settler here from Ispahan. To none of his friends had Ismael disclosed the fact of my being an Englishman, so that I still passed as a Soonnee Moslem of Cairo, from the Hadj. When the reasons of my journeying this way were demanded, it was answered by Ismael, that my sister was the wife of Ghalib, the former Shereef of Mecca, whom Mohammed Ali Pasha had displaced, and that some of her money having been lent to Persian pilgrims of distinction, whose funds had fallen short during their long journey and stay at Mecca, I was going into Persia to collect this, but wished to pass uninterrupted and without parade. The Dervish then added, that there being none among my own servants who had been in the country before, he had advised me to leave them at Bagdad, and had himself engaged to be my conductor, interpreter, and slave. All this was readily believed, but some scruples were entertained as to the rigour of my practice in abstaining from forbidden things. 'What!' said the Dervish, 'do you think then, while the Cadi of Stamboul, and half the Mollahs of that City of the Faithful, drink wine, as it is reported, until they cannot distinguish their daylight from their sunset prayers, that a Hadjee Massri, an Egyptian pilgrim, a

relation of the Shereef of Mecca, would be shocked at it?" I gave my assent to the general observation that such prohibitions were intended for the ignorant (from whom the pride of every man triumphantly excepts himself); and, as it was tacitly acknowledged that none of us were of that number, we drank deeply of the golden wine of Shirauz, which Hafiz and Saadi have so eloquently praised, and Gibbon so justly asserted to have triumphed in every age over the forbidding precepts of Mohammed.

CHAPTER VI.

DESCRIPTION OF KERMANSHAH, ONE OF THE FRONTIER TOWNS OF PERSIA.

SEPT. 16.—On my leaving Bagdad, Mr. Rich had furnished me with a letter to the Shah Zadé, the King of Persia's second son, who resides at Kermanshah, as well as other letters to persons of distinction here; but as we had hitherto found it unnecessary to claim the protection of the great, we thought it best not to force ourselves on their notice by the presentation of such letters, and accordingly avoided it.

As there was yet no caravan moving either for Hamadan or Ispahan, we devoted the day to completing our examination of the town, and closed it in a party in one of the best baths of the

place,—said our evening prayers in the Great Mosque, and returned to the khan at an early hour.

Here, as I had hitherto found but little leisure, or privacy, since our arrival at Kermanshah, I sat up, by the light of a dim lamp, with the door closed on my small chamber, and employed myself in noting down the incidents of our stay in this place, and the impressions to which they had given rise, with the following sketch of Kermanshah itself.

This town is seated on three or four gentle hills, at the foot of a range, which is passed on approaching it from the west; so that it contains within its walls some slight and other steep ascents, with eminences of different heights, and their corresponding valleys. It is said to have been founded by Baharam the Fourth, the brother and successor of the famous embryo King Shapoor, who was himself called Kermanshah, from having filled the station of Governor of the city of Kerman.

To the north and the east it has before it a beautiful and extensive plain, at the entrance of which it may be said to stand. The boundaries of this on the north are, the high range of mountains called Kooh Tauk-e-Bostan, including in it the peculiar masses of Kooh Parow and Kooh Bisitoon. On the south it is closed by the range of Kooh Seeah, both of these ranges going in nearly a north-west and south-east direction. Between these the plain extends for about fifteen or twenty miles in length, and from five to eight in its greatest breadth.

The form of Kermanshah is irregular, approaching nearest to a circular outline, of about three miles in circumference. The wall which surrounds it is flanked with circular bastions, at stated distances, turreted, and pierced with loop-holes and ports for cannon; but it is without a ditch, is built chiefly of sun-dried bricks, and has at present no ordnance mounted on any part of it.

There are five gates. The one on the west is called Durwazé Kubber Aga, from a pretty little tomb of an Aga there, with a

flower-garden before it. The one on the north-west is called Durwazé Nedjef Asheref, meaning the gate at which a Saint dried up the sea. The story connected with the name is this. In the time of the Imaum Ali, there was a large lake here, by the side of which a poor man was sitting, shaving the hairs from off his legs and body, when his razor and stone fell into the water. The Imaum coming by at the time, and witnessing his distress, enquired into the cause of it, and finding that the Faqueer was a holy man, ordered the lake to be dried up, which it instantly became at his word, restored the man his razor, and has remained dry land ever since. This fact is believed here with all proper respect; and from its being one of comparatively recent date to that of Moses drying up the Red Sea, it is thought fit by these superstitious Mohammedans to be placed beside it in the Chronicles of Truth, and is triumphantly cited to prove that their favourite Imaum was equal to Moses at least. The third gate, on the north, is called Durwazé Shereef Abat, from some person of that name, who probably built it. The fourth, on the north-east, is called Durwazé Tauk-e-Bostan, from its leading to the arched cave in the mountain;—and the last, on the south-east, is named Durwazé Ispahan, from the high road to that city leading from it.

Not half a century ago, Kermanshah was but a large village, the inhabitants of which subsisted chiefly by their agricultural labours in their own plain, and by the feeding of their cattle on the fine pastures of the Mahee-Dusht. As a frontier town in the west was wanting, however, to oppose to the Pasha of Bagdad, in the event of war between Turkey and Persia, as well as for the more effectual government of the western provinces of Shooster, Lauristan, and the parts of Koordistan subject to the Persian power, Kermanshah was fixed on to become the future residence of one of the King of Persia's sons.

Since that period the town has gradually increased in size, in population, and in affluence, and goes on still augmenting its numbers. During the visit of Mr. Rosseau, the French Consul

General of Bagdad to this place, in 1807, he estimated the number of its inhabitants from sixteen to eighteen thousand.* At this moment, however, it certainly contains thirty thousand; and from all that I observed of the space covered by houses, and the manner in which they were occupied, I thought the number of people here at least equal to the half of those at Bagdad, which would make the estimate still higher.

Of these inhabitants, the great mass are Mohammedans of the Sheeah sect, the rest being made up of about twenty Soonnee families, settlers from Turkey, a hundred Jews, only one Christian of any kind, who is Yusef Khan, a Russian, and now Topjee Bashi, or chief of artillery, of the Shah Zadé, some few Koord residents, and many Georgian slaves, chiefly females. The only Arabs here are merely sojourners. Armenians there are none, either as passengers or residents; and of Guebres or fire-worshippers, the old followers of Zoroaster, as far as I could learn, there have never been any resident here. The three last were enumerated, however, among the population of the place, by Mr. Rosseau. If such persons were here at the time he wrote, it could only be in the way that Mr. Rosseau and ourselves were, as sojourners or travellers: yet no one in describing the state of Kermanshah at either of those periods would reckon among its population either Frenchmen, Englishmen, or Affghans.

The government of the Shah Zadé extends northward into Koordistan, southward to Shooster and the sea coast of Khusistan, westward to the Tauk or pass of Mount Zagros, and eastward to the town of Hamadan. Over these provinces the Prince exercises sovereign authority, without reference to his father, and he is thought by many to be the most powerful of all the governors in the empire, not excepting the Shah himself. The present Prince is the eldest son of the reigning Sovereign, by a Georgian mother. He is about eighteen years of age, and is conceived to owe all the

* Vide "Mines de l'Orient," tome 3, p. 85.

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greatness of his influence to the firmness of his general conduct, and his personal superintendance of public business, a duty which is said to be neglected by his brothers. His sway is called a mild one, though, but on the evening of yesterday, two men were, by his order, blown off from the cannon's mouth for some trifling offence, which would not have incurred, even in Turkey, a higher punishment than the bastinado. He is, however, a great speculator and trader, and encourages commerce in others, as far as such a disposition in himself will admit of it without thwarting his own personal interests.

Being in a manner the founder of the town in its present state of opulence (for before his reign its improvement was very inconsiderable), he takes a pride in embellishing it by public works; and this, as it adds much to the comfort as well as attractions of the town, ensures him the praise of all parties. A large palace near the centre of the city, for himself, a country house surrounded by gardens for his harem, and a spacious mosque near his own residence for the public use, have been built from his own funds, without any extraordinary contributions. The whole range of streets, bazars, caravanserais, baths, &c. which are now erecting, are, however, building from advances of their future occupiers, in loans to the Prince, on the faith of his promise, that the sums shall be accounted for in their annual rents. The Prince is therefore the great owner of the land, and of the buildings; and as his will is law, the rents will no doubt be so regulated, as to return him an enormous profit, in which case, instead of a munificent adorner of a city of his own founding, he can be regarded only as a monied speculator in possession of an unrestrained monopoly.

The force of the city is not at all equal to its real importance, as the western frontier town of an extensive kingdom. It had not, as far as I could perceive, at present, a single cannon mounted on its walls. Several fine long brass pieces, of Persian foundry, and apparently very old, were lying about on the ground before the Prince's palace, and in another public square; and there was in

his service a Russian Topjee Bashi, or chief of the cannoneers, so that when the more profitable improvements of building are terminated, that of fortification may perhaps be better attended to. The whole military establishment of the Shah Zadé is estimated to consist of about five hundred horse and a thousand foot. Like the soldiers of Turkey, these are required to arm and clothe themselves out of their pay, are totally without any distinguishing uniform, and as undisciplined as an enemy could wish. These few troops are thought sufficient for the maintenance of public order in the neighbourhood of the town, and for the regular guard of the Prince's person. All else would be superfluous, in his estimation, since the governor of every province under the Shah Zadé must, over and above the yearly tribute to the Prince's treasury, provide troops for the defence of his own district, out of the contributions which he is authorized to levy at will on the people subject to his immediate control. To keep up a large army, or to train and discipline the small one really embodied in time of peace for more prompt and effectual service in war, would not enter into the conception of those who look on the duration of both the one and the other to be dependant on the will of God alone, and totally exempt from human control.

The details of the Government are nearly the same here as in the great towns of its sister kingdom, Turkey: personal favour and bribery are always of avail, and corruption exists in every office and department of the State. Notwithstanding this, however, the people appear to be happy, and are firmly convinced that no country can be equal to their own. Their climate, their water, and the productions of their soil, are justly praised; though even from these they do not derive half the enjoyment they are capable of affording, from want of the necessary knowledge how to employ them to the best advantage. But, because the signal drum is beat three times after sunset, at the last sound of which the streets must be cleared of every individual on pain of death, they think their Government the best that possibly can be, and

would certainly treat any man as an idiot or a madman who should suggest even the notion of a reform.

Among the public buildings of the town, the Shah Zadé's palace is by far the largest, occupying perhaps a quarter of a mile in circuit. The principal front opens to the south-east, into a large square called the Maidan, a place of exercise for horses. This square is surrounded by shops and stalls in recesses like those of a large khan; and having passages of communication to most of the principal bazars in the different quarters of the town, it is generally crowded with people.

The front of the palace towards this square is about a thousand feet in length, and the ascent to its centre is by an inclined plane, sufficiently steep for steps, but having none, in order that it may the better admit the passage of horses. Leading off from the top of this ascent are two long causeways or galleries, going all along the front of the building, at the height of fifteen or twenty feet from the level of the square below. The whole of the front is a plain brick wall, excepting only the centre, where two or three stories rise over the door of entrance. The door is in the Arabian style of architecture, corrupted by modern taste, and above it, on two large pannels, are represented the exploits of Rustan, the Hercules of the Persians, in figures boldly drawn and gaudily coloured. Above this is the public divan, which has an open balcony looking out on the square, and from which the view of the town and the country must be commanding and agreeable. Here the Shah Zadé sits for an hour or two early in the day to transact public business and receive visits; but as the sun shines strongly on it at that period, it is then always covered by a perpendicular awning, or curtain, of canvass, painted in gay colours and fanciful designs.

The interior of the palace is laid out for domestic convenience, and streams of water flow through the gardens, from amidst which rises a polygonal kiosque, of the form of the stools on which the salver is placed at the meals of the Turks, and totally devoid of

dignity, which must be imputed to the bad taste of the architect, since the dome, which is appropriate to the order, might have been so well placed in its stead.

The Harem or Seraglio of the Prince is seated on a hill at some distance from his palace, surrounded by gardens. It stands, however, within the walls of the town, and is said to enjoy the most delicious air that mortal can breathe. His establishment of wives is complete; but besides these he has several Georgian slaves, of the greatest beauty that could be procured for money. In these and in his Turkoman horses, his chief pleasure is said to exist; but the horses, though praised as finer than any of the king's stud, he seldom or never mounts, and his harem he as rarely visits, generally sending for the wife or the slave whom he may happen most to desire, and leaving the rest to nurse his numerous progeny, and divert themselves as well as they can within latticed windows, high walls, and strong bolts and bars, under the continual espionage of the severe and unfeeling eunuchs, who are employed as checks upon the undue liberty of royal favourites.

There are only four mosques in the whole town; and three of these are smaller than those seen in the poorest villages of Egypt. The largest, however, which is the work of the Shah Zadé, and is close to his palace, has a very spacious court attached to it, which of itself conveys an air of grandeur, particularly when filled by devout worshippers, performing their ablutions previous to prayer. The interior of the mosque is quite plain, showing only a large, but low hall, supported by square pillars of brick-work. In all the towns, indeed, not a fine dome or a minaret of any kind is to be seen, which one would scarcely have expected among a people who are more strict in their devotions than their neighbours, and who lavish such wealth on the tombs of their venerated Imaums.

The baths are of a superior kind; there are said to be three equal to the one we visited, and four or five others frequented only by the poorer classes. The first of these, which was

not far from the palace, was entered by a porch, extremely clean, and neatly ornamented by painting and other devices on its ceiling and walls. This remarkable contrast to the low, dark, and foul passages which generally lead to Turkish baths, was a presage, upon the very threshold, of greater comfort and accommodation within.

When we reached the undressing-room, this prepossession was still further strengthened. Here we found a square hall, well lighted from above, having on three of its sides elevated recesses for the visitors, and on the fourth, the passage from the outer porch to the hall, and from this to the inner bath, having on each side shelves, in which were arranged the clean and dirty clothes, the combs, looking-glasses, and all the apparatus of the toilette, under the immediate care of the master of the bath himself. At the angles of these raised recesses, and dividing their lower roof, which they supported, from the higher one of the central square, were four good marble pillars, with spirally fluted shafts, and moulded capitals, perfectly uniform in size and design, and producing the best effect. In the centre of the square space, which these marked out, and on a lower floor, was a large marble cistern of cold water; and at each end of this, on wooden stands, like those used in our arbours and breakfast rooms, were arranged coloured glass jars, with flowers of various kinds in them, well watered and perfectly fresh.

The walls of this outer hall were ornamented all around by designs of trees, birds, and beasts, in fanciful forms, executed in white upon a blue ground, and though possessing nothing worthy of admiration, yet giving an air of finish, of neatness, and of cleanliness to the whole, in which the baths of Turkey are generally so deficient.

We undressed here, and were led from hence into the inner bath, where all was still free from every thing offensive, either to the sight or smell. This inner room was originally an oblong space of about fifty feet by twenty-five, but had been since made

into two square divisions. The first, or outer one, was a plain paved hall, exactly like the undressing-room, except that it had no side recesses, but its floor was level, close to the walls. There were here also four pillars; but, as well as I remember, plain ones; and in the square space which they enclosed in the centre of the room, was a cistern of water as in the outer one. It was on the floor of this that the visitors lay, to be washed by the attendants; for there were no raised seats for this purpose as in Turkish baths, and the great octagonal one, with its cold fountain, the sides and tops of which are ornamented with mosaic work of marble in Turkey, was here replaced by the cistern described. The whole of this room was destitute of ornament, excepting the walls, which were similar to those without. The second division, to which this led, consisted of three parts; the central one was a large and deep bath, filled with warm water, its bottom being level with the lower floor of the building, and the ascent to it being by three or four steep steps. On each side of this was a small private room, with a cistern in the centre of each, for the use of those who wished to be served with peculiar attention.

The whole was as neat and well arranged as could be desired, and as clean as any bath can be which is open to public use. But as few pleasures are entirely perfect, so here, with all its general apparent superiority to the baths of Turkey, this was inferior to them in the most essential points. The attendants seemed quite ignorant of the art of twisting the limbs, moulding the muscles, cracking the joints, opening the chest, and all that delicious train of operations in which the Turks are so skilful. The visitors were merely well though roughly scrubbed, and their impurities then rinsed off in the large cistern above, from which there was neither a running stream to carry off the foul water, nor cocks of hot and cold to renew and temper it at pleasure, as in Turkey.

In place of the luxurious moulding of the muscles, the use of the hair-bag, or glove, for removing the dirt, and the profusion of

perfumed soap, with which the Turks end a course of treatment full of delight, the Persians are occupied in staining the beard and hair black, the nails of the toes and fingers of a deep red, and the whole of the feet and hands of a yellow colour, by different preparations of henna. This operation is the most unpleasant that can be imagined. The Persians do not shave the whole of the head, as is usual with most of the Turks and Arabs, but, taking off all the hair from the forehead, over the crown, and down the neck, for about a hand's breadth, they leave on each side two large bushy masses, depending over their shoulders. These are almost as full in some individuals as the apparent wigs of the Sassanian medals; and in others, they are sufficiently long and large to meet and cover the neck behind, which would deceive a stranger into a belief, that they wore the whole of their hair, without either cutting or shaving it. This, then, with a very long and full beard, in which all the people here take pride, is plastered with a thick paste, of the consistence of hog's lard, and not less than two pounds weight of which is sometimes used on one person. It possesses a strongly astringent and penetrating quality, and requires great skill in the use of it, to avoid doing considerable mischief. As the eye-brows are plastered with it, as well as the rest of the hair, and as it softens by the heat of the room and of the body, it frequently steals into the eyes, and produces great pain. The mustachios sometimes give a portion of this paste also to the nostrils, as well as to the mouth, and never fail to yield a most unpleasant odour to all within its reach. The patient (as he may well be called) reclines on his back, naked, and on the stone floor, with his eyes and mouth completely shut, and not daring to breathe with too great freedom. He remains in this manner for an hour or two at a time, while the operator visits him at intervals, rubs his hair and beard, patches up the paste where it has dissolved or is fallen off, and lays on fresh coats of the dye, on the nails, the hands, and the feet. Some of these

beard-plastered elders, fresh from the hands of their attendants, look oddly enough, with different shades of red, black, and grey in their beards; for it takes a day or two, according to the quality of the hair, to produce an uniform blackness; and this requires to be renewed every week at least, to look well, as the roots of the hair which grow out, after each time of staining, are either brown or grey, according to the age of the wearer, and contrast but badly with the jet black of the other parts.

When all is finished, and the visitor leaves the inner bath, he is furnished with two cloths only, one for the waist, and the other to throw loosely over the head and shoulders: he then goes into the outer room into a colder air, thus thinly clad, and without slippers or pattens; no bed is prepared for him, nor is he again attended to by any one, unless he demands a nargeel to smoke; but, most generally, he dresses himself in haste, and departs.

The Turkish bath is far more capable of affording high sensual pleasure, and is consequently visited as much for the mere delight to the feelings which it produces, and to lounge away an agreeable hour, as for the performance of a religious duty; while the Persian bath seems altogether resorted to for the purpose of the toilette, as one would submit to a hair-dresser, to have the hair cut, curled, powdered, and set in order, for a party.

The bazars have been already described, as far at least as they can be in their present imperfect state. Such of the few as are finished, are lofty, wide, and well lighted and aired, built of brick, with vaulted domes, rising in succession from the roof, and having ranges of shops, about twelve feet wide in front, divided by a central perpendicular bar, and closed by double shutters. The benches before these are built of stone, are conveniently low for the seating of passengers, and the shops within are sufficiently spacious to contain a great variety of merchandize, and leave ample room for the keepers of them, a guest, and an assistant, which those of the best bazars in Cairo and Damascus do not.

Those now in building promise to be as spacious and convenient as these already finished; and when all are completed, they will add much to the fine appearance of the town.

Besides the manufactory of most of the articles in common request for the consumption of the town and its immediate neighbourhood, there are made here muskets and pistols, of a good quality, and in sufficient request to be sent to different parts of Persia. The Shah Zadé has a foundry for brass cannon, under the superintendance of the Russian Yusef Khan, his Topjee Bashi, at which he intends casting all the ordnance for the city; and some coarse gunpowder is also made by the same man. Printed cotton cloths and handkerchiefs are manufactured also in great abundance, and carpets are wrought which are thought to be equal to any produced in the whole empire. These are chiefly the work of females of distinction; since to spin, to sew, and to embroider, are the chief accomplishments of their education. These carpets are mostly made by the needle, with coloured worsteds, on a woven substance, in the way that young ladies in England, of the middling ranks, work mats for tea-urns. These, from their size and quality, sometimes cost fifty tomans, equal to as many pounds sterling each, though there are others at all prices below this. Others again, of an inferior quality, are altogether woven in colours, and sold at a cheaper rate, these being the work of men. There are no large manufactories of either, however; as both are wrought in private dwellings, and brought into the bazar, when finished, for sale.

Every species of provision and fruit is excellent, and in great abundance. Coffee-houses, there are absolutely none; but cook-shops, fruit-stalls, and confectioners' benches are very numerous, and in these may be had all the kinds of food in use among the people. The former of these are peculiarly neat and clean, and besides the kabobs, or sausages without skins, there is excellent bread, rice pilaus, and sometimes stewed dishes to be had, so that by far the greater number of people stationed in the work-shops and bazars, send thither for the portion of food they may require

for their meals, as it is not customary, as with us, to eat at the house where the food is prepared.

Among the fruits, after those of the melon kind, grapes, peaches, and apples are most abundant: pears and plums are also seen, but more rarely; and all of these, with every species of vegetable common to the country, are good in their kinds, and kept and served with great cleanliness and care.*

In the confectioners' shops are sweet cakes of different sorts, small loaves, and sugar refined in the town, almonds and other comfits arranged in glass jars, and sweet drinks prepared in large copper and brazen vessels, covered with engraved devices and inscriptions.

Mutton is the meat most used, as goats' flesh is eaten by the very poorest of the people only, and beef is rarely seen. The sheep are large and fat, and the butchers are clean in the manner of serving and dressing them, though, from the very different modes of preparing dishes here and in Europe, no comparison can be well made in the quality or flavour of animal food, when cooked.

The dresses of the people are plain and grave, particularly after the gay varieties of Turkish towns. The men all wear a high cap of black curly fur, generally of sheep and lamb's-skin, of different qualities. The tightness of their dress about the body and arms, and its looseness below, for sitting cross-legged and kneeling, do not harmonize together. The long slender locks of hair, hanging behind over their necks, give an air of boyishness

* The extent of the Persian dominions may be divided into three parts, according to the situation and climate. The southern part, bordering upon the Persian Gulf, is sandy and barren, and parched with heat. The middle part, lying more northerly, under a temperate climate, abounds in corn and grass, with many well-watered and spacious plains, as well as vineyards and gardens, furnished with trees bearing all sorts of fruits, except olives. Their gardens are delightful; their rivers and streams cool and limpid, and plentifully stored with all sorts of water-fowl. It has also extensive pastures for cattle, and woodlands for hunting. The northernmost division is cold and barren, and often covered with snow.—*Arrian Ind. Hist.* c. 40.

to some, and the thick bushy masses of a stiffer kind an aspect of ferocity to others; while the sameness of colour in their dresses, which are either of a dull green or blue, with the absence of rich shawls, bright shalloons, gilded and silver arms, &c. make the inhabitants of the town look much inferior to the strangers there.

The Koordish peasants have conical caps, and short jackets of thick white woollen. The Arabs are mostly from Bagdad, and dress as they do there. The Shooster people wear turbans formed of a brown cotton shawl, crossed with white, and amply folded round the head, while one end is suffered to hang loosely behind, something like the white turban of the Arabs of Yemen. The Persian women, of whom we saw remarkably few, were all closely veiled by a white cloth, tied over the forehead and hanging low down on the breast, with a grating work of hollow thread before the eyes, and the great outer cloth or scarf, of checked blue cotton, as in Egypt.

The people on the whole, however, seemed to be exceedingly polite among themselves, and courteous towards strangers, ingenious in the exercise of their respective trades, quick of apprehension, full of industry, and intent on their respective affairs of business.

SEPT. 17th.—We were occupied during the first hours of the morning in preparation for departure from Kermanshah by such occasion as might offer. One of my horses, purchased at Bagdad, having broken out all over his body with sores, so that he could neither be saddled, nor mounted bare, it became necessary to part with it, if possible, and look out for another. We accordingly led it to the Maidan, or place of the horse-market, without the walls, on the north of the town, where, though we found many seeking for horses, we could find no one who would purchase or barter for this, and were accordingly obliged to buy another.

The horses we saw here, except our own, were all Persian. These are larger and perhaps stronger than the Arab race, but are extremely inferior in beauty, and are said to be so in speed, and in

capacity of sustaining the privations of food and water. The Persians indeed, as far as I had seen of them, did not appear to take as much pleasure in horses as the Arabs or Turks. They are less masterly and less graceful riders; and their mountings or trappings, while no more fitted for the comfort of the horse, by lightness and adaptation to its form, than either of these, are much inferior, in richness of ornament and general appearance, to both.

To leave my diseased horse at this place, seemed an abandonment of what had cost me dearly, and what might perhaps recover; while, if we took it with us, an extra attendant would be absolutely necessary, since all the other duties of the road, which had now completely devolved on myself, were already more than sufficient. It was therefore determined that we should seek for such a person; and this was no sooner suggested, than the Dervish Ismael had one immediately ready to my hand. A Faqueer of Ispahan, who had come with us from Kerrund to Kermanshah, had supped from our bread and fruit, and smoked his evening nargeel with the Dervish after I was asleep, was recommended as the most proper person I could add to our party, as he was ready and willing to undertake any duty that might be required of him. "But," said I, "does he understand the duties of a groom? or do you know any thing of his character?" "Oh," replied Ismael, "a Faqueer understands every thing; and as for his character, I am sure that his heart is pure, and his tongue is clean." "How then?" I asked: "was there any previous acquaintance, or the testimony of any friend who had known the man?" "Not at all," was the reply; and after much hesitation—not of fear, but seemingly of unwillingness to clear up any doubt for which he thought there was no just foundation—this explanation at length came: "He is not a Philosopher, emphatically *one of us*," said Ismael, (meaning the "Mutuffuk b'el Philosopheea" at Bagdad,) "it is true; but the man has loved the wife of another, for whom he has wept by day, and chased away his sorrows by smoking bhang (an intoxicating drug) at night!" It was in vain

that I objected to these two excellent qualities, as certain pledges of his neglecting the duties I wished him to perform on the way. "The man's heart must be upright," said my companion, "because it is tender; and free from all guile, because he intoxicates himself with opium!" The fact seemed to be that my Dervish wished to secure, on any terms, some one who would do such things as we needed, provided he was not too rigid a Moslem to betray our laxity, or abandon us from being shocked at it. I reasoned, persisted, refused, and pretended an anger which I really did not feel. All was in vain, the die was cast, and Zein-El-Abedeen, the bhang-smoking Faqueer, was regularly invested with the care of the diseased horse, and admitted as one of our party, beyond the possibility of revocation.

We now heard of four or five horsemen going off to Hamadan on the morrow; and as this seemed the best occasion by which we could profit, we sought them out, and agreed to accompany them; of which they were as glad as ourselves. In the mean time, as a good portion of the day yet remained to us, I determined to employ it in a visit to the antiquities of Tauk-e-Bostan, which I had been hitherto too much occupied in the town even to enquire after.

CHAPTER VII.

VISIT TO THE ANTIQUITIES OF TAUK-E-BOSTAN.

We left the town of Kermanshah by the Ispahan gate, close to which our caravanserai was situated, about an hour before noon; and turning round to the northward by the city wall, we came into the high road leading out to the Tauk. The road led first between vineyards and gardens on each side, and then opened on the plain, going in a north-east direction. In our way we passed several villages on our right and left, peopled entirely by Koords; from one of these came out two young and gaily dressed Persian girls to invite us into their dwellings,—and they were at once so pretty and so willingly polite, that it required no common effort to decline their invitations.

My Dervish, who was yet young and handsome, being not

more than five-and-twenty, with regular features, white teeth, large black eyes, an Indian brown complexion, and silky beard, seemed particularly to have smitten both of these ladies,—and the feeling on his part was perfectly reciprocal. His countenance brightened up with fresh animation, and his eyes flashed fire during the short interview which I permitted, as we checked the reins of our horses to listen to their discourse. I was cruel enough, however, to interrupt this scene, by setting off on a full gallop, beckoning to Ismael to follow me. When the Dervish overtook me, as I halted for him to come up, there was a mixture of surprise and anger in his look, as he asked me why I had so hastily torn myself away from the fairest occasion of passing a happy day that had yet offered itself to us since we had been together? I endeavoured to explain this, as we continued to ride along, by saying that as we were to depart from hence to-morrow, there would be no possibility of my seeing the Caves, if to-day were wasted in pleasure; and that, as I should probably be near these antiquities but once in my life, I should often regret in future my neglect of that occasion to examine them, since they were among the works of early ages which deeply interested both myself and my friends.

The Dervish drew up the bridle of my horse, and turned himself round towards me on his saddle, as if to assure himself that these were really and truly my reasons, and that it was I and not another who assigned them. When I repeated that I was in earnest, he eyed me with a look which, though in some degree tempered by respect, was yet full of pity and disappointment, with perhaps a portion of contempt. "And is it possible," he exclaimed, "that you can be learned in philosophy, or in any way at all a lover of wisdom? You have yet to read Hafiz and Saadi, and Meznouvee, and Muntukketeer,—who would all say to you, 'What are the works of the past or the hopes of the future, compared with the more certain and far more important enjoy-

ment of the present ?' " It was plain indeed, in all he said or did, that the philosophy of the Dervish and his school was entirely comprised in that verse of Moore's :

" Pleasure, thou only good on earth !
One little hour resign'd to thee,
Oh ! by my Lais' lip, 'tis worth
A sage's immortality."

Our conference ended, however, in his yielding to my wishes ; and we accordingly left the ladies to other visitors, and pursued our journey, though for an hour at least in unbroken silence.

In less than an hour after our leaving the walls of Kermanshah we came to the stream of the Kara Soo, still retaining its Turkish name, implying the Black Water. Its banks are low and shelving, its bed dark and pebbly, and its stream beautifully transparent ; so that at the least distance from its banks its purity alone gives it a cast of blackness, which well sustains its name. The breadth of the river here is not more than fifty horse paces, its depth about three or four feet, and the rate of its stream little more than two miles an hour. We found some peasants on its beach collecting the small round pebbles of its bed, and loading them on their beasts to carry them in sacks to the town. On enquiring the purpose to which these were applied, we learned that they were used by the bakers of Kermanshah, who laid their thin sheets of bread on beds of the pebbles, heated nearly to redness, and smoothed by small rollers like those used on the gravel walks of an European garden.

The course of the Kara Soo is in this place from north-west to south-east, though it afterwards bends to the southward, in the plain, at the distance of only a mile or two from this ford. Its source is said to be also in a north-west direction, about three days' journey off, at the foot of the mountains of Koordistan ; and it flows from hence southerly through Khuzistan, passing by Shooster, and discharges itself ultimately into the Euphrates,

after the union of that river and the Tigris in the Shat-ul-Arab, running with these into the Persian Gulf.

This river is unquestionably the Choaspes of antiquity, celebrated as furnishing always the drink of the Persian kings. They so rigidly confined themselves to the use of this water, that it was carried by them even in their distant expeditions; and Herodotus relates that Cyrus, when he marched against Babylon, had the water of the Choaspes first boiled, and afterwards borne in a vase of silver, on four-wheeled chariots drawn by mules.* Milton has

* "Against her son Labynitus, who, with the name of his father, enjoyed the empire of Assyria, Cyrus conducted his army. The great king, in his warlike expeditions, is provided from home with cattle, and all other necessaries for his table. There is also carried with him water of the river Choaspes,† which flows near Susa, for the king drinks of no other; wherever he goes he is attended by a number of four-wheeled carriages, drawn by mules, in which the water of Choaspes, being first boiled, is deposited in vessels of silver."—*Clio*, 188.

Pliny, in adverting to this tradition, says, that the water served to the Persian kings for their drink, was from the two rivers Choaspes and Eulæus only: adding that, however distant they might be from these two rivers, their waters were always carried with them. And asking himself the reason of this peculiarity, he decides that it is not because they were rivers merely, that the Persian princes liked their waters so well, for out of the two still more famous rivers Tigris and Euphrates, as well as out of many other fair and agreeable running streams, they did not drink; so that there was some peculiar and sacred reason for the preference here displayed.—See *Plin. Nat. Hist.* b. 31. c. 2.

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† There Susa by Choaspes' amber stream,
The drink of none but kings.—*Paradise Regained*, Book ii.

Upon the above passage of Milton, Jortin has this remark:—'I am afraid Milton is here mistaken. That the kings of Persia drank no water but that of the river Choaspes, is well known: that none *but* kings drank of it, is what I believe cannot be proved.'—Add to the note from Jortin, the following, from the posthumous works of the same writer:

'If we examine the assertion of Milton, as an historical problem, whether the kings of Persia alone drank of Choaspes, we shall find great reason to determine in the negative. Herodotus, Strabo, Tibullus, Ausonius, Maximus Tyrius, Aristides, Plutarch, Pliny the Elder, Athenæus, Dionysius Periegetes, and Eustathius, have mentioned Choaspes or Eulæus as the drink of the kings of Persia or Parthia, and have called it βασιλικὸν ὕδωρ, regia lympha; but none have said they alone drank it. I say Choaspes or Eulæus, because some make them the same, others make them different rivers.'

Jortin then adds from Ælian, as a proof that the subjects of the Persian king might drink this water, the anecdote which I have quoted at length.

'Mention is made,' continues Jortin, 'by Agathocles, of a certain water which none but Persian kings might drink; and if any other writers mention it, they take it from Agathocles. We find in Athenæus, Agathocles says, that there is in Persia a water called Golden; that it consists of seventy streams; that none drink of it except the king and his eldest son; and that if any other person does, death is the punishment.

'It

an allusion to this subject, though he uses the licence of a poet in making this the drink of kings alone, instead of confining them to the use of this water solely; and it is a fact worthy of remark, that at this moment, while all the inhabitants of Kermanshah drink of the stream of Aub Dedoong, at which we watered our horses on the day of entry, and of the spring called Aubi-i-Hassan-Khan, the King's son alone has the water for himself and his harem brought from the stream of the Kara Soo. We drank of it ourselves as we passed; and from its superiority to all the waters of which we had tasted since leaving the banks of the Tigris, added to the thirst of our noon ride, and animating conversation by the way, the draught was delicious enough to be sweet even to the palsied taste of royalty itself.*

After quitting the Kara Soo, we continued our way on the same course as before, seeing many villages on each side of us on the plain; when, after passing by some smaller streams, gardens, and shady bowers of closely planted trees, we came in little more than half an hour to the foot of the rock in which the Caves are excavated.

We alighted, fastened our horses to the trees before them, and, crossing the little brook which flows along their front, entered the largest of these recesses to look around us. We found here a

* Khosroo Purveez was encamped on the banks of the Kara-Soo river, when he received a letter from Mahommed. Enraged at being called upon by an Arabian whose name he had probably never before heard, to renounce the religion of his fathers, he tore the letter and cast it into the Kara-Soo.—*Malcolm's Persia*, v. 1. p. 158.

'It appears not that the golden water and the water of Choaspes were the same. It may be granted, and it is not at all improbable, that the king alone drank of that water of Choaspes, which was boiled and barrelled up for his use in his military expeditions.'

Jortin concludes by saying, that Milton, by his calling it Amber Stream, seems to have had in view the golden water of Agathocles. To me, this does not seem likely; I think Milton would not have scrupled to have called it at once Golden Stream, if he had thought of the passage from Athenæus before quoted.

Ælian relates, that Xerxes during his march came to a desert place, and was exceedingly thirsty; his attendants with his baggage were at some distance: proclamation was made, that whoever had any of the water of Choaspes should produce it for the use of the king. One person was found who possessed a small quantity, but it was quite putrid: Xerxes, however, drank it, and considered the person who supplied it as his friend and benefactor, as he must otherwise have perished with thirst.—*Beloe's Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 254.

party of young men from the town, who had come out to pass in this agreeable retreat a day of undisturbed pleasure; and for the moment I felt sorry that our presence should have in any way broken in upon their retired hours of joy. They were employed in saying alternate stanzas of some mourning hymn or dirge, if one might judge from the sighs and interjections of those who hung their heads upon their hands as they listened and approved. They had before them several baskets of fresh fruit, and nargeels for smoking; and inviting us, "B'ism Illah," in the name of God, to sit down and partake of their rustic feast, we did so most willingly.

This, however, agreeable as social pleasures always are, was a sad interruption to the minute examination which I was desirous of making of the numerous sculptured figures which covered the sides of the cave around us. I pondered for an excuse, and could scarcely hide my impatience. I cast my eyes about with all the eagerness of curiosity and enquiry, until every one perceived that this was my first visit to the Tauk, and that I was yet a stranger to all that concerned it.

Some of the young men who felt themselves to be more learned than the rest, explained the stories of Rustan, whose colossal figure on horseback was the prominent one of the place, and dwelt with still more delight on the loves of Ferhad and Shirine, with which the existence of the Caves was so intimately connected. The history of the lovely Queen, with her Lord Khosrou, and his minister Shapoor, whose figures filled the compartment above the equestrian Hercules of their days, was also detailed; but I still wished to examine what more particularly caught my attention among the smaller figures, and to bring away with me correct copies of such inscriptions as might be there. I was well aware of the surprise, the enquiry, and the suspicion, which my writing on the spot in an unknown character would excite; but as we did not fear the number of our beholders, and we should leave the neighbourhood to-morrow, I had determined at all hazards to

begin, though my Dervish obstinately resisted this, from the fear of its betraying him as well as myself.

It was in this moment of indecision that there arrived a party of twelve horsemen, of whom the chief was evidently a person of distinction, and alighted at the Cave. The salutations of "Salam Alaikom" and "Kosh Amadeed," were passed between us as we rose at their entry; carpets and cushions were spread, a divan formed, and presently the whole of the Cave was occupied by this leader and his suite. The young men whom we had found there on our first arrival instantly withdrew, and were not recalled; but as we attempted to follow their example after our first salutations had been exchanged, the Chief beckoned us to stay; and my full beard, and the title of Hadjee, with my Arab dress, obtained for me a seat beside him, while all the rest stood.

My journey was then enquired about; and there being among the servants a man who had been in Egypt, he remarked that neither my features nor my complexion were Egyptian, though, from the Arabic not being his native tongue, he did not apparently detect my being a foreigner in this. I told him that there was a mixture of Georgian blood in our family, as I had often been taken for one of that country, chiefly from my complexion, hair, and eyes, being all less dark than is usually seen among either Arabs, Persians, or Turks; and this explanation was deemed quite satisfactory.

The leader of the party spoke chiefly Turkish, and but just sufficient of Arabic for us to converse together face to face. His appearance struck me as very singular. His stature was short and compressed; his head small and round; his features flat; his eyes long, small, and of a greyish blue; his hair a brownish yellow; and his thin and scanty beard confined to a few long hairs on the point of his chin, such as I remember to have seen in a Chinese Mussulman at Mocha.

My surprise was heightened by finding that this man understood the Roman character; for, in looking round the Cave, on the walls of which were numerous inscriptions of visitors, in Hebrew,

Arabic, Persian, and English, he pointed to some of the latter, and said, "These are the names of Franks who have been here." I asked him if he could read them. He replied "Yes;" and going to one list, in which were the names of Captain (now General Sir John) Malcolm, Lieutenant (now Colonel) Mc. Donald (Kinnier), and Dr. Jukes, (of the Bombay army, since dead,) with several others which I did not afterwards remember, he counted letter by letter, and pretended to read them off with accuracy. His followers seeing this, expressed a very anxious desire to know what these Frank inscriptions could contain. "Not one of these infidels who have ever passed this way," said they, "have omitted to visit the Tauk-e-Bostan, and it must either be in veneration of their ancestors, by whom some think this country was once possessed, or in performance of some religious duty, that they come here to inscribe on the hard rock such long sentences as these. Do," continued they, entreating their Chief with unusual eagerness, "explain to us the writings which these Giaours leave behind them."

The names themselves, to the number of ten or twelve, were all cut in Roman capitals with great care: those of Mr. Manesty, an English Envoy and his suite, on the right of the figure of Rustan, on looking towards it; and those of General Malcolm and his attendants on the left. The latter were inscribed within a sort of outline tablet, drawn round it; and as sufficient space was left within this line for that purpose, some subsequent French visitor had cut, in long slender characters above this array of English names, the words VIVE NAPOLEON!—As a specimen of the accuracy with which the Chief understood the character, he read this first line, by saying it meant "Bism Illah, el Rahhman el Rakheem," or, "In the name of God, the great and the merciful." "What!" exclaimed his companions, "do the Infidels commence their writings with the prayer which our Holy Prophet has chosen for the head of every chapter of the Koran, and for the commencement of every operation of a true believer?" "No;" re-

plied the Chief, somewhat embarrassed by this remark, "it is not precisely the eloquent 'Bism Illah' of the Prophet, but it is a prayer to exactly the same effect, with which the Franks of the West commence all they do, and which the great mass of the Giaours write 'In Dei nomine,' but the English express by the words 'Shipped by the grace of God!'"

The Latin and the English formulæ were each expressed imperfectly, but with sufficient distinctness for me to recognise them both; though how this man could have learned these two, applied generally to such opposite purposes, was still to me unintelligible. My Dervish, who knew the man well, explained it perfectly however, by telling me that he was a Russian, who had been in the service of the Turks, and having embraced Islamism, had risen by progressive gradations to be the Mutesellim, or Governor of Bussorah, which station he had filled for several years. Rustan Aga, for that was now his name, becoming obnoxious to the Pasha of Bagdad, as all the servants of the great in the East are sure to do when they are supposed to become too wealthy, he was recalled to the capital, stripped of his riches, and at last banished from thence, on which occasion he had recently come here to Kermanshah as a retreat. In his capacity of Mutesellim at this seaport, frequented by English ships, he might have learned to distinguish the Roman character from others, perhaps by the occasional sight of their package-marks, or papers; and from the last alone, he must have remembered the pious formula of "Shipped by the grace of God," with which all our English bills of lading are still commenced.

When we had talked of the Caves, and the visitors had decided that the large one was for Khosrou, the bench at the end for him to enjoy the caresses of Shirine, and the adjoining smaller cave for the servants and Cawajee Bashi, or chief of the coffee-preparers, a repast of fruits was served to us in numerous baskets of freshly gathered grapes and peaches from the neighbouring gardens, of which Rustan Aga and myself first partook, and afterwards

my Dervish and the servants in waiting. An hour passed over pipes and coffee, with intervals of dull conversation, until the Aga growing sleepy, laid himself along upon the bench of Shirine, which is the raised base or pedestal on which the horse of Rustan stands, and expressed his wish to sleep.

I still hoped that I might be able to write, thinking the rest of the party would retire; their presence, however, still interrupted this; and from a whispering conversation between them in Persian, I feared that even they suspected me to be not what I had pretended. My Dervish, who heard and understood the whole, soon undeceived me, by saying, that when the Aga laid himself down upon the cool couch of Shirine, he had given orders to his principal servant to await our going away, and then to dispatch a horseman to the village near for the two young Persian girls who had invited us to turn aside from our way. They had accosted him it seems also, and he had promised them to see their abode on his return; but, whether the story blended with the place of his present repose had inflamed his imagination or not, his impatience induced him to send for them here; and the consultation now was whether they should await our departure or send for them at once.

"Not to enjoy the occasion which had been presented to ourselves, and to be an obstacle to this enjoyment in others, would," said Ismael, "be so like the dog in the manger," a fable with which he was well acquainted, "that we should deserve to be cut off for ever from its recurrence if we stayed here a moment longer." As the accomplishment of the end for which alone I came thus far was indeed now almost hopeless, I hardly wished to prolong my stay, so that we mounted and set out on our return.

The horseman was immediately dispatched and soon overtook us, confessing with all frankness, on our asking him, the nature of his errand. We rode together to the village, heard the message delivered, and saw the girls themselves set out to fulfil it; so that no doubt could any longer remain of their engagement. "This,"

said the Dervish, " is true philosophy. Behold this Rustan, born an infidel, embracing afterwards the true faith, becoming rich, abandoned by fortune, banished, and shown the whole round of poverty and wealth, of favour and disgrace, yet retaining wisdom enough amidst all these reverses to solace his banishment with pleasure, and not to suffer a moment of pure enjoyment to pass by him for the sake of the works of the past, or the hopes of the future, of which you so idly talked." I strove to convince him that it was because the man had no philosophy, and was really unhappy in his banishment, that he sought for pleasure in such sources as these; but all that I could say was in vain. Ismael contended that we had acted foolishly, and thought not only that my disappointment at the Caves was a fit punishment for my folly, but that I should deserve all the evils which might in any other way result from it.

It was nearly sun-set before we returned to the khan, and we had still many little duties to perform preparatory to our setting out in the morning. I had determined, if possible, to turn aside from the road then, and make a second visit to the Caves in our way to Bisitoon; but as that might not be practicable, I sat down by my lamp, when my companions were asleep, to note down such recollections as I still retained of the Caves, from my imperfect and restrained examination of them.

They are called by the natives Tauk-e-Bostan, or the Arch of the Garden, and not Takht Rustam, or the Throne of Rustam, as has been said. They are situated at the distance of somewhat more than a league from Kermanshah, in a due bearing of north-east by compass. They are hewn out at the foot of the mountain of the same name, connected with which are the separate masses of Parou to the north, and Bisitoon to the east. The rock here rises in nearly a perpendicular cliff from the plain, and the Caves face the south-west, looking immediately towards the town.

On approaching them, they are scarcely seen, as they are covered by clusters of trees thickly planted, some of them extend-

ing close to the fronts of the Caves themselves. On arriving at these, the appearance presented is that of a high and bare mountain, rising in nearly a perpendicular line, with a small brook of beautifully clear water flowing beneath its feet. The source of this is close by, as it issues out from beneath the rock; and over the spot are two brick arches of the Roman form, still perfect. These are not the remains of a bridge, as M. Rousseau supposes,* as they are built in the side of the rock, and lead to no passage. The purpose of them seems to have been to mark the source of the stream and keep its outlet clear; a similar arch of stone being erected in the same way over the source of the Ain-el Feejey, near Damascus, close by an ancient temple there.

These arches are the first objects seen on the right or south-east in looking towards the Caves, and close to them are three sculptured figures on the outer surface of the rock. The tablet, or pannel, in which these are included, is just sufficiently large to contain them, and the figures are about the size of life. The sculpture is in bas-relief, tolerably executed, and still very perfect. One of these, the figure on the left, has a star beneath his feet, and a sort of halo, like the rays of a blazing sun, around his head; another, the central one, has a globe over a helmet, like the heads of the Sassanian medals; and the third, on the right, nearest the source of the stream, stands on a figure lying horizontally on the ground.† The first of these is perhaps the one taken for Ariman, or Zoroaster, but whether the others were armed or not I do not perfectly remember. The frilled drapery of their trowsers forming a line from the ankle to the hip, produces a very novel effect, as well as the sort of sandals with which their feet are bound.‡

Close to this, still on the left or north-west, is the first or smallest Cave. This is little more than fifteen feet square, and

* Mines de l'Orient, tom. iii. p. 94.

† This is thought to be a prostrate Roman soldier, as emblematic of the fallen state of that empire at the period of its execution.

‡ See the plate in Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia, which is very correct.

about the same height in the centre of the arch, which is of the pure Roman form, and the sides and floor are all perfectly level. There are, I think, no devices on the outer front of this, and the side walls of the interior are perfectly plain. The end wall is divided into two compartments by a sort of moulding running along the whole breadth of the Cave and nearly midway up the wall, so as to divide it almost equally by a horizontal line. In the lower one I do not remember any devices, and in the upper are, I think, two figures, of which I have also an imperfect recollection. They are fully as large as the life, are both standing, and executed in alto-relievo. On each side of them is an inscription of four or five lines each, in the character of the Sassanian medals, which M. de Sacy has so successfully decyphered and explained.*

On the left of this is the principal or larger Cave, divided from the small one by a thick wall of rock only ; and all these objects are included within a space of fifty yards in length. In front of them, the stream, which springs from beneath the brick arches on the south-east, flows along to the north-west, touching the foot of the rock where the three sculptured figures are seen on its surface, and being only half a dozen paces from the mouth of the larger Cave. This stream, however, is not the Kara Soo, as has been said,† but a mere brook, called, from the place of its source, Aub-i-Tauk-e-Bostan, and going from the Caves south-west into that river. Its waters were painfully cold at noon-day, and as sweet and clear as the stream which it augments.

The great Cave is perhaps about twenty-five feet square, and rather more than the same height. Its roof is arched, of the pure Roman form, and, like the other, its floor and sides are perfectly

* See the ' Antiquités de la Perse,' by Silvestre de Sacy ; from which it appears that the Tauk-e-Bostan was excavated by Baharam, the founder of Kermanshah, as the inscription in Pehlivi, translated by De Sacy, has the name of Vararan, or Varahan, which approaches the Roman name of Baharam, who is Varanes the Fourth, of Latin history.—See also Malcolm's Persia, vol. i. p. 113.

† Rousseau's Journey from Bagdad to Kermanshah.

level. The outer front of this excavation presents first a fine broad pilaster on each side, with a device formed by a chain of stems and flowers winding round a central stalk, not unlike some of the rich pilasters on the doors of Palmyra, and as beautifully executed as they are tastefully designed. The arch itself has sculptured mouldings running over it to finish its front, which are also chastely done. Above this, and exactly over the centre of the arch, is a crescent, resting on what appears to be extended wings, which might perhaps be thought to have some affinity with the winged globe of the Egyptians. This device of a serpent, or a lizard (for it has been called both) with expanded wings, as seen both here and at the Caves of Nakshi Rustam, has been taken by the learned Dr. Hyde, (author of a Treatise on the Religion of the Ancient Persians,) for a symbol of the soul, and by others, for an Egyptian scarabeus; while Thevenot calls it a winged idol, and Pietro della Valle, the Devil!*

On each side of this symbol, in the angular space left between the arch and a square of the rock formed over it, are two beautiful female figures, such as in Europe we should call angels. These are larger than the life, and sculptured in bas-relief. They are robed in fine flowing drapery, have broadly expanded wings of the eagle form, boldly drawn and executed; and they lean in free and graceful attitudes towards the central symbol, being buoyant in air; and while, with the nearest hand, they seem to present to this a circular wreath of flowers, in the other they hold a vase of the flat Roman form, filled above the brim with fruits. The faces of these female figures are round, smiling, and full of complacency and good nature: their forms are at once elegant and free, their hair short and curly, the disposition of the fingers in holding the wreath and the vase extremely natural, the wings noble, and the drapery ample and flowing, so that they give to the whole front of the excavation the most imposing appearance.

* Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.

On the inside of the great cave, the largest and most prominent figures are on the end wall, immediately facing the spectator on entering. This wall is divided into two equal compartments by a broad sculptured frieze or cornice, jutting out from the level of the ground on which the designs are executed, in about the same proportion as the figures; so that its highest part is on a level with the most projecting of the group, these last being all executed in very bold alto-relievo.

The lower compartment is entirely occupied by the colossal equestrian figure of Rustam, the Hercules of the Persians, famed for his feats of strength. His horse, though in some parts clumsy, has nothing in its form that grossly offends the sight, on seeing it at a proper distance. Its neck, breast, and shoulders, are covered with an ample cloth, richly wrought, with tassels; but its haunches are perfectly bare. The figure of the rider is on a scale of nine or ten feet high, and intended perhaps to represent the size of life in the hero himself, as the natural size seems to have been made the standard of all the other large figures seen here. This rider sits firmly on his horse, and is in the act of poising his spear; while from his neck or collar, are seen flying out behind him the ruffled plaits of a scarf, as if blown out by the wind. The face of the hero is masked, and his body is covered with a coat of armour formed of net-work, finely woven into a close cloth. The farther hind-leg of the horse is destroyed, and a part of its head is defaced; but the rest is well preserved, and its details are quite distinct.

The upper compartment contains three standing figures, about the size of life; the two right-hand ones of which are male, and the other a female. The traditions of the country say, that the central one is Khosrou Parviz, with Shirine his bride, on his right, and Shapoor, his minister, on his left. I was struck with nothing peculiar in these figures, except that the queen holds a vase in her left hand, as if pouring water from it, which Beauchamp had before asserted, and Rousseau had denied to exist.*

* Rousseau's Journey, in 'Les Mines de l'Orient,' p. 95.

Whether this alluded to the source of the river near, as the first of these writers thought, it is not easy to determine; but the conjecture was at least a natural one. The inscription above these figures, which is said to be in the Sassanian character, I did not observe, although my hasty glance over all that I saw around me, would not admit of my saying that no such inscription existed.

The side-walls seemed to me to represent a kind of open verandah, with one large central and several smaller windows, through which the figures sculptured there were supposed to be seen at indefinite distances; for I thought I could trace distinctly the looping-up of the curtains with cords, to admit the view; and observe in the open basket-work of the frame of the verandah the necessary pins and cords for its support.

Upon the side-wall, on the right hand on entering, is the representation of a chase, as if seen through the large central window. The principal figure of this picture is on horseback, but not in the act of pursuit, though a graceful motion is given to the animal itself. A page holds over him a large umbrella, in the Indian style, to shelter him from the sun; but the costume either of the lord or his attendants I do not remember. Below is a herd of deer, or antelopes, in full flight; some of which are well, and others badly done. In the smaller compartments are other pictures, each distinctly seen through a small side-window of the verandah; some representing camels, led by halters, and going in trains up a hilly road; others, I think, elephants, and a profusion of figures, of which it was impossible for me to retain a distinct recollection. The sculpture of the whole is in basso-relievo, much about the same height from the level of the surface as the best Egyptian sculptures in the caves and temples of that country. The drawing of some of the figures in motion is better, and others worse than these; but the attitudes and the finish of the details of such as are at rest, are each inferior to the best works on the banks of the Nile.

The side-wall opposite to this, or on the left when entering, is

ornamented with a similar representation of a verandah, and large and small windows, through which the pictures there are seen. These spaces are crowded with a much greater number and variety of figures than on the opposite side. The same want of perspective, and confusion of grouping, is observed in both; but the figures are in general better drawn, and the whole detail of the sculpture is of infinitely more laboured and perfect workmanship than the other. The high finish of these is equal to any thing that I remember in Egypt, either at Tentyra, Edfou, Assouan, or even the temples in Nubia; and the difference, in this respect, between this and the other side of the cave, impressed me at once with an idea that they had been executed by different hands, and at very distant periods of time.

The general subject on this side seemed to be a hunting of wild boars in lakes and marshes. Water was sometimes fancifully represented in wavy lines, like a whirlpool; and though fishes were represented in this, yet a tree was also seen through it, and land animals and birds near it. The chief personage of all this multitude stood erect in a boat, and was sometimes seen drawing his bow, and at others with it relaxed. The dress of this chief was of the richest kind; and among the devices on the robes were large dragons, as if of Tartar or Chinese origin. By him sat a musician, who played on a harp of many strings, holding the perpendicular part towards his body, and resting the horizontal part on the knee. The boats were of the rudest form, and the oars were long poles, with flat square pieces of wood fastened to their extremes, in the Indian fashion. Two of these oars only were used, one ahead and one astern; being plied as paddles over each quarter, to act rather as rudders than as oars.

In one of the boats was a company of female harpers, playing on instruments of the same form as those described. These were very richly dressed in embroidered robes, and their attitudes were a combination of kneeling and sitting, as in use among Mohammedans in some parts of their prayers, and by most of the

Eastern people when they sit before their superiors. They were well drawn, their attitudes admirably natural, and their drapery gracefully and finely wrought. They resembled strikingly some figures of female harpers which I remember to have seen on a ruin near the precipice on the banks of the Nile, and in front of the great Temple of Koum-Ombos (the city of the Crocodile), and were among the most interesting figures of the whole piece.

There were here also a profusion of wild boars, in all possible attitudes; some flying from their pursuers, others wounded and at a stand, and others falling in the tortures of death. A number of elephants were also seen; some mounted by riders to pursue the game, and others employed to carry off the prey. Among the last were slain boars, lashed on elephants' backs by strong ropes: near this were men apparently preparing the dead animals for dissection, and a multitude of other figures, of which I have only the recollection of an imperfect dream. The execution of the whole was surprisingly laboured; in many instances producing the most finished details. The dresses of the people, with their appropriate ornaments, and the folds of their drapery, the attitudes of many of the men and animals, the frame-work of the verandah, and the pins, the cords, and curtains of its windows, were all deserving admiration, and made me regret, more than I can describe, the impossibility of my detailing them more minutely on the spot.

The purpose for which these Caves were executed can scarcely be mistaken:—their cool and delightful situation, and all the accompaniments of water, trees, and an extensive and beautiful prospect,—their name, as the "Arch of the Garden," which is still retained,—and the purpose for which they continue to be visited to the present hour,—all induce a belief that they were hewn out as summer-houses of pleasure for some royal or distinguished personage of antiquity, whose abode was in this neighbourhood. The sculptures appear to have nothing in them of an historical kind, nor do they seem designed to commemorate any great political or

warlike event, but are merely the ornaments of general pictures appropriate to such a place. The tradition of their being the work of Ferhad, the Georgian Prince, who was enamoured of Shirine, and whom Khosrou employed in labours of this kind to divert his attention from his mistress, is believed by all here, and would require the positive testimony of history or inscriptions to overthrow.

The opinion that these sculptures at the Tauk-e-Bostan were the works of Semiramis, or of the Greek successor of Alexander, has been sufficiently combated by M. Silvestre de Sacy in his "Mémoires sur les Antiquités de la Perse;" and the correspondence of the costume with that seen in the drawings of the sculptures at Shapoor and Nakshi Rustam, as well as the Pehlivi inscription translated by the learned Frenchman, leave no longer any doubt of their being the work of the Sassanian age.

The neighbouring town of Kermanshah is said to have been founded by Bahram, the son of Sapor Dulactaf, who, having conquered Kerman, assumed the title of Kermanshah, or king of that country, which he bestowed on his new city, Chosroes.

Nashirvan, according to the Nozhat Alcolaub, here erected a magnificent hall of audience, where on one occasion he received at the same time the homages of the Emperor of Rome, the Emperor of China, and the Khan of the Tartars. No ruin of any ancient building of consequence is now however to be seen, continues the author from whom this is extracted; and it is not improbable but the historian may allude to the Hall of Kengawar. As, however, the figure of Bahram, or Varahram, himself is sculptured in one of the Caves, which we gather from the inscription accompanying it, there seems no reason why this fine arched chamber should not be the hall in question; delightfully seated as it is in the most agreeable spot near Kermanshah, and distinguished as it unquestionably was by the favour of the founder, in the expense and labour lavished on it.

There are two other remarkable monuments spoken of in the

mountain behind, or to the northward of these Caves; and thought to be the work of the same artist. One of these is called Keresht, and is a large passage leading through the rock to such an extent that no torches will retain their light sufficiently long to enable the visitors to arrive at its termination. The other is a large building called Beit-Khan-el-Jemsheed, or the Idol-house of Jemsheed, which is now in ruins. The first of these is four or five hours' journey from Kermanshah, and the last somewhat more distant. Of the basin and sculptures in the mountain of Harrsin to the south-west, as spoken of by M. Rousseau, we could obtain no precise information.

In Col. Kinnier's Geographical Memoir on the Persian Empire, this place seems to be coupled with Bisitoon, from which it is perfectly distinct. After a description of the figures here at the Caves only, the author says: "I have been thus minute on the sculptures at Tauk-e-Bostan and Bisiton, because I have never, in any publication, seen an accurate description of them." And after a citation of the story of Semiramis and her hundred guards, from Diodorus Siculus, he concludes: "The group of figures (here at the Tauk-e-Bostan, since he describes no others) cannot indeed be construed into a representation of the Assyrian queen and her guards; but it must at the same time be remembered, that other sculptures have apparently been obliterated to make room for the Arabic inscription."*

* Geog. Mem. 4to. p. 137.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM KERMANSHAH TO BISITOON AND KENGAWAR—ATTACK OF ROBBERS.

Sept. 18th.—We mounted our horses at the gate of Kermanshah soon after sunrise, intending to go from hence to the Caves at Tauk-e-Bostan, and from thence along the foot of the mountain to Bisitoon, by a route distinct from the main road; and after seeing the antiquities there in our way, to rejoin the horsemen, whose party we were to accompany, at the khan of the latter place. We went out of the Ispahan gate, leading our diseased horse after us; but we had scarcely turned off the highway to go toward the Caves, before we were overtaken by a party of four or five people of distinction on horseback, going out to pass a day of pleasure there, attended by a train of mounted servants, baggage, &c.

The Dervish Ismael insisted on it that the destinies were against us, as we had had such a succession of misfortunes and disappointments in all our attempts to see the Caves alone, during our stay at Kermanshah; he therefore urged my abandoning the intention altogether. We might still have gone there, however, on a second visit this morning, notwithstanding this unexpected party; but our presence would have been an intrusion on these great people, which their politeness would perhaps have suffered for a while; although taking notes on the spot would have been impossible, and that was the only object I wished to accomplish in a second visit. We accordingly yielded to the supposed destiny of our case, and returned at once into the high road, to overtake the party of horsemen whom we had agreed to meet at the khan of Bisitoon, from which we were to go on together towards Hamadan.

Our course lay nearly east, across the plain, in which we saw villages on each side of us, with a numerous peasantry, and abundance of cattle. In about two hours after our leaving the gate of Kermanshah, we came to the Choaspes, or Kara Soo, which was here flowing at the rate of about two miles an hour to the southward. Across it was a lofty and well-built bridge, of six pointed arches, with buttresses, the foundation of large hewn stones, and the upper part of burnt bricks, with a good pavement above the whole. We sounded the stream below this bridge, as it was not more than a hundred feet wide, and found it to be not more than three feet deep in any part. The water was beautifully transparent, and flowing over a dark pebbly bed; it still deserved its modern name of the Black Water, as distinguishing it from the muddy yellowness of rivers in general.

In continuing our march on the same easterly course, the crowds of passengers whom we met coming from the eastward were much greater than I had ever noticed on the Bagdad road, and were almost equal to those seen on the great roads near London, though there appeared to be no particular cause for a greater concourse now than on any ordinary occasion. The number of

the villages, the multitudes of flocks and herds, and the sounds of people whom we saw every where around us, gave a highly favourable idea of the activity and improving state of the population of the country in this immediate neighbourhood at least.

In some caravans which passed us, were camels of a much larger size than any I had ever seen before; and as different in their forms and proportions from the camel of Arabia, as a mastiff is from a greyhound. These camels had large heads and thick necks; from the under edge of which depended a long, shaggy, dark brown hair; their legs were short, their joints thick, and their carcases and haunches round and fleshy, though they stood at least a foot higher from the ground than the common camels of the Arabian Desert. As they were laden with heavy burthens, I could not discover whether they had the two humps which distinguish the Bactrian camel; or one only, like the camel of Arabia; the only answer given to our enquiry, by their drivers, being, that they were of the Turcoman breed from the north.*

Among a party of well-dressed and well-mounted Persian gentlemen, who appeared to be returning from an excursion

* The current opinion entertained in Europe is, that the animal with one hump is the camel, and the animal with two humps the dromedary. This, however, is an error. The Bactrian camel, which is the largest, strongest, and heaviest species, and is covered with a thick, shaggy, dark brown hair, fitting him to endure the rigours of a northern climate, has two humps invariably; while the Arabian camel, which is common to Africa, Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and Mesopotamia, and which differs from the Bactrian in being less fleshy and more slender in all its parts, and having only a thin covering of light fawn-coloured hair, has invariably one hump only. The difference between the camel and the dromedary is just that which forms the difference between the cart-horse and the race-horse: the former is trained to carry burthens; the latter, trained only to speed. There are, therefore, one-humped camels and one-humped dromedaries, as well as two-humped camels and two-humped dromedaries; the only difference in each case being, that the camel is the beast of burthen, and the dromedary the animal of speed. The former name is pronounced indifferently, either Ghemel, or Jemel, among the Arabs: the latter, which is a Greek word, is unknown among them: the camels trained to speed, being known by the appellation of Hedjeen only. The rate of the camel seldom exceeds a walk of three miles an hour; while the dromedary or hedjeen will ordinarily perform ten, and sometimes trot at the rate of fifteen miles an hour. Each will bear great fatigue, and sustain themselves for a long while without food or water.

of pleasure, rather than to be on a journey, I was surprised to see a gaily dressed female unveiled, riding a spirited horse, on a man's saddle, and talking and laughing loudly with those around her. As we approached nearer, she asked us with great freedom whither we were going; and wished us a safe journey, under the protection of God. Ismael replied, "Al Ullah!" and, perhaps chiefly by the sound of his voice, she immediately recognised him as an old acquaintance. The meeting, the salutations, the caresses, though all speedily ended, as we were both on our way in opposite directions, were singular enough. This lady had been the most noted Suzemaneeah, or courtezan, of Kermanshah, for many years, and had held sovereign sway ever since the Shah Zadé himself had resided here. In her youth, it was said that she was a great favourite of that prince; but she had now grown too old for the taste of royalty in the East, though she would have been still young enough for the companion of some distinguished personages of the West, "being fat, fair, and forty." It was said that she had been with these gentlemen at some retired seat or garden in the country, and had acted as procuress for the party.

As we advanced easterly, we drew progressively nearer to the range of Bisitoon on our left, which rose abruptly from the plain, and terminated in ragged masses and points, the most elevated summit of which seemed to be about three thousand feet from the base. The great body of the mountain was apparently of limestone, judging from the greater portion of the fragments below; but among these were pieces of a stone like porphyry, some of speckled red, others of greenish white, and others of speckled black, of all of which I preserved specimens.* The plain here became contracted on our right, though the southern range of Kooh Seeah, leading south-easterly from Kermanshah, had continued to extend in that direction, by which we widened our dis-

* These were given to a friend in India, and afterwards sent to the Geological Society of London.

tance from it; yet there now intervened between us and that range a second inferior mass of hills, forming a boundary on our right. Many villages were still seen, though the soil now seemed less fertile and less cultivated than before.

In about four hours after our departure from the city walls, and two and a half after our crossing the Choaspes, we turned off the road a little on our right, to drink at a spring of water in a dell of fine turf grass. In the way to this, we crossed over a large heap of ruins, which seemed to have been the site of an ancient castle. There had been evidently an inner citadel, which was about a hundred feet in diameter, and several portions of the square bastions, of unbaked brick-work, were still preserved in their original place. The form of this inner citadel appeared nearly circular in its present state, and could be traced all round; the centre of it was hollow, or deeper than the walls themselves, but seemed to have been originally an open space unoccupied by buildings. There were evident appearances of two *enceintes*, or outer walls, at equal distances, surrounding the inner citadel; and from the fragments of brick and stone scattered beyond these, there might once have been still more. The whole of this stood but a few yards on the right of the high road; and immediately opposite to it, on the left, was a burying-ground of the peasants, in which were seen fragments of columns, and large blocks of hewn stone. These, the peasants whom we met and questioned on the subject, told us, were brought from the opposite ruins, which they called Dey Seboo, and spoke of as a place of great antiquity; but we could learn no tradition regarding its history, or the age of its destruction.

From hence we continued our way about east-north-east, the rays of the sun being scorchingly hot, the sky a deep blue, with scattered streaks of white clouds, and the wind a perfect gale from the south-west, though it had been a dead calm from sunrise until near noon. In about two hours more, gradually turning round the foot of the mountain of Bisitoon in a north-easterly

direction, we approached towards the khan of that name, and entered a small but beautiful plain, on the edge of which it stood.

Just opposite to the khan, at about a furlong to the north-west, and on the left of the road, we remarked that a large tablet had been smoothed away in the face of the mountain's cliff, which we turned off the road to examine. It was too near the high-way for me to suppose that there would be any thing new to discover; yet, while we were approaching it, I indulged the idea of our possibly finding there the colossal figure of Semiramis, attended by her hundred guards, as described by the ancients to have been here sculptured in the rock. The mountain rose in a perfect perpendicular from the plain to the height of about two thousand feet; and if there were any part of it from whence this Eastern Queen could have ascended to the summit upon her baggage, which was piled up for the occasion, as mentioned by historians, it was likely to have been here.*

* The following passage from Diodorus Siculus will show the nature of the undertakings entered into by this magnificent Queen:—

"When Semiramis had finished all her works, she marched with a great army into Media, and encamped near to a mountain called Bagistan; there she made a garden twelve furlongs in compass. It was in a plain champaigne country, and had a great fountain in it, which watered the whole garden. Mount Bagistan is dedicated to Jupiter, and towards one side of the garden has steep rocks seventeen furlongs from the top to the bottom. She cut out a piece of the lower part of the rock, and caused her own image to be carved upon it; and a hundred of her guards, that were lanceteers, standing round about her. She wrote likewise in Syriac letters upon the rock, that Semiramis ascended from the plain to the top of the mountain, by laying the packs and fardels of the beasts that followed her, one upon another.

"From hence she marched towards Ecbatana, and arrived at the Mountain Zarcheum, which being many furlongs in extent, and full of steep precipices and craggy rocks, there was no passing but by long and tedious windings and turnings. To leave therefore behind her an eternal monument of her name, and to make a short cut for her passage, she caused the rock to be hewn down, and the valleys to be filled up with earth; and so, in a short time, at a vast expense, laid the way open and plain, which to this day is called Semiramis's Way.

"Marching away from hence, she came to Chaone, a city of Media, where she encamped upon a rising ground, from whence she took notice of an exceeding great and high rock, where she made another very great garden, in the middle of the rock, and built upon it stately houses of pleasure, whence she might both have a delightful prospect into the garden, and view the army as they lay encamped below in the plain. Being much delighted with this place, she stayed here a considerable time, giving up herself to all kinds of pleasures and delights; for

On our reaching the spot, however, the most careful examination led to no satisfactory result. The level surface in question was evidently wrought smooth by the hand of man, for some such purpose, but abandoned before that purpose was completed. A space of not less than a hundred feet in length, by from twenty to thirty feet in height, had been cut into the rock, in so regular a form, as to make it appear, at a little distance, to be a perfect tablet. The excavation, or incision, was about two feet beneath the level of the outer surface of the rock, and the outlines were perfectly smooth and straight. In front of this space was a platform of corresponding dimensions, supported by a temporary wall of loose stones, and a sloping buttress of rubbish. About the spot were large hewn blocks, as if some building were intended to have been constructed here; and the tradition of the people is, that Ferhad was employed to execute on this spot some grand sculptured work, which was interrupted by his death.

We returned with some disappointment to the khan, and took up our quarters there for the night. This is a large building, similar to those on the road from Bagdad to Hillah, and from the same city to Kermanshah; but the former have been the work of kings and princes in successive ages, while this was erected by a certain Hadjee Ali Khan, a private individual, whose property lay chiefly in this quarter, and who left this behind him for general accommodation, as a work of piety and public spirit. A long inscription in Persian, cut on marble blocks, on each side the door of entrance, commemorates this act of munificence; though few of those who arrive fatigued after a long ride, stop to read it as they enter. The view from within the khan is particularly striking; the stupendous cliffs of Bisitoon, towering immediately over it, and the excavated space in its south-east point, which we had been to examine, are perfectly visible above the walls of the

she forbore marrying, lest she should be deposed from the government; and, in the mean time, she made choice of the handsomest commanders to be her gallants; but after they had lain with her, she cut off their heads." *Diod. Sic.* lib. 2. cap. 1.

building, as the height of the tablet is not less than seventy or eighty feet from the base of the rocky cliff, and perhaps a hundred feet above the general level of the plain.

SEPT. 19th.—We were roused to prepare for departure before it was yet daylight; but as our companions were great smokers of the nargeel, which takes longer to fill, to light, and to dismantle, than the pipe, the sun appeared over the eastern hills as we mounted.

We had scarcely gone a hundred yards on our way, before another apparent tablet on the surface of the mountain on our left, attracted my attention; and though this was higher, and more difficult of access, than the former, and though the wind was now blowing a hurricane, the air piercing cold, and our companions impatient, yet I was determined to alight and take a closer view.

As we drew near, I could perceive it to be a long inscription of twelve lines, in the Persian language, but the Arabic character, contained within a tablet, executed with great care. The characters were of the best form, and deeply engraved; and between each line of the inscription was drawn a deep and distinct incision, for the purpose of marking their separation.

My Dervish, who read this with facility, found it related to the khan at which we had slept. It recorded the name and virtues of its founder, Hadjee Ali, the date and purpose of its erection, as well as the boundaries of the lands in the plain, the rents and products of which were to be appropriated to its support; adding, that if there remained any surplus from these rents, after paying the establishment of the caravanserai, it was to be sent to the sepulchre of Imam Ali, at Kerbela.

This discovery did not interest me very deeply; but on mounting a little higher, to have a more distinct view of some written characters, which I saw but imperfectly from below, I found they were two long lines, in large Greek capitals, which had formed an inscription over a group of sculptured figures as large as life, occupying a smooth space in the surface of the rock. Four of these

figures could be still distinctly traced, and represented men in long robes, executed in bas-relief; but, from age and the decomposition of the rock, these were much decayed. The very centre of this sculptured story, whatever it might have been, was chosen for the smoothing away the tablet, to contain the long Persian inscription described; so that some of the figures, and both the lines of the earlier Greek inscription, had for this purpose been cut through and defaced.

I resolved to copy, however, such of the characters as I could make out, and applied to Ismael for my inkstand; a small sack, containing this, with all our coffee apparatus, and some articles in hourly demand, being always kept in his charge, in order that they might not be subject to the examination of curious eyes while I was otherwise employed. My mortification was extreme on learning from him, that the sack and all its contents had been lost during our stay in the khan; nor did it lessen that mortification to hear him express his belief that our new companions were most probably the stealers of it. I had neither pencil, knife, nor other implements, by which I could even scratch these letters down on any substance; and, as our companions were already far ahead of us in the march, there was no hope of recovering the lost sack from them, for my present purpose at least. The copying of these Greek lines was therefore abandoned with regret to some more fortunate traveller who might follow in the same track.

We were descending from the cliff to remount, when, on turning round and casting my eyes upward to observe the magnificent height of this perpendicular cliff, other appearances of sculptured figures caught my attention still higher up than the former. These already described occupied a piece of the rock which faced the south-east. Those above were in a small rock facing the north-east, and in a situation very difficult to be seen from below. I clambered up to these last with great impatience, and at the risk of breaking my neck by two severe falls in the way; while the

Dervish concluded, as he said, that I was in pursuit of the Philosopher's Stone, when he saw that, on recovering from these falls, I still persevered in trying to scale the craggy cliff again.

On getting as near to this object of my pursuit as was practicable, I perceived a smaller tablet than the lower one, surmounted by the figure of a winged circle or globe, with something hanging from it downward; the whole resembling the emblem by which the Holy Ghost is sometimes represented under the form of a dove, with expanded wings and tail, but no head. This singular emblem here overshadowed a line of about thirteen human figures, half the size of life, well sculptured, and well preserved, and appearing to represent the bringing in of bound captives, and their presentation to a conquering chief.

Below this sculptured story were several oblong and perpendicular tablets, filled with inscriptions, in small, thick, square letters, void of curve, and more like Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, or Sanscrit, than any of the other ancient Oriental characters. The foot of this was perfectly inaccessible for many yards; and, at the distance from whence I saw it, I could make out nothing distinct, except that the tablets were planed smoothly down, and their surfaces then covered with letters of some kind or other. If this was writing, as I believed it to be, there could not have been less than two or three hundred lines in all the different compartments; but of this, much was injured by time, though the figures above were still remarkably distinct.

Whether either, or which of these, related to the visits of Semiramis to this place, it was not easy to decide. The situation and the style of the designs would rather justify the belief of these sculptures being those before adverted to; while the number of the figures and their apparent occupation are at variance with the account given of the sculptures in question by the ancients.

This mountain of Bisitoon is thought, by most of the learned, to correspond with the mountain of Baghistan; in which, accord-

ing to Diodorus Siculus, and Isidore of Charax, Semiramis, the Queen of Babylon, caused her figure to be sculptured, attended by a hundred guards. After quitting Babylonia, where, according to the historian, she had executed many marvellous works, to enter Media, with an army, she halted at Mount Baghistan, which was sacred to Jupiter, and made there a garden of twelve stadia, in a plain watered by a stream, whose source was near. The mountain rose to the height of seventeen stadia. Accompanying her figure, and those of her armed guards, was an inscription in Syriac, which recorded that by piling up the baggage with which her animals were laden, this Queen mounted on it from the plain to the summit of the hill.

There are several of these features which are in strict correspondence with the actual situation of the place. The plain of Chum Chemal, which lies to the eastward of this mountain, and is thus spread out at its feet, is about three miles in breadth, and is therefore capable of containing the garden of twelve stadia spoken of; while through it flow from the northward the streams of Komeshah and Zerdoo, both of considerable size, going ultimately into the Kara Soo. Towards this plain the mountain rises in a perpendicular cliff of nearly two thousand feet high, and presents the most imposing aspect; but in no other part of the range is the rise so abrupt, or the perpendicular height so great. Its singularity in this particular has obtained this part its present appellation, from "Sitoon," a pillar, like which it rises from the plain; while the rest of the mountain has other names assigned to its respective parts, as Paroo, Tauk-e-Bostan, &c.

The height of seventeen stadia may probably be an error in estimation, or in the transcript of figures: it is sufficient, however, that the perpendicular rise of the mountain towards the garden is unusually great; and this peculiarity still remains, as a cliff of two thousand feet hanging over a plain is no ordinary feature here or elsewhere. It was perhaps the isolated situation of the whole mass, with the grand and terrific appearance of this

its eastern part, which obtained for the mountain the distinction of being sacred to Jupiter, since, bare and forbidding as is its aspect, there is much of majesty and sublimity in its frown.

Diodorus Siculus, in describing the route of Alexander from Susa to Ecbatana, speaks of Baghistan as a most delicious country, and fit for the recreation of the Gods themselves. In this respect also, the situation is still consistent; for, with such mountain boundaries, so fine a plain, such an abundance of excellent water, and so pure an air, there is no charm of Nature that might not be commanded here.

De Sacy, in his "Mémoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse," has proved satisfactorily that the caves and sculptures at the Tauk-e-Bostan are more in harmony with the traditions of the country, which assign them to Khosrou, Shirine, and Shapoor, than they are with the works of Semiramis alluded to. It is probable, indeed, as he has suggested, that there are still other sculptures in this mountain, not generally known, among which the Babylonian Queen and her hundred guards might be found. From the remarkable correspondence of the spot, I have little doubt but that those which we had seen this morning, were really the works alluded to, and imperfectly or erroneously described by an historian who had only heard of the sculptures and their general character and object, without seeing them himself.

From this place we continued our way nearly north, for about an hour, when we turned to the east and crossed the river Komeshah, over a bridge of six arches. This stream has its source to the northward, within the limits of the plain, and goes from hence south and south-easterly, until it falls into the Kara Soo. Its waters are beautifully transparent, and pure and sweet to the taste.

Continuing our course easterly from hence, we passed over a fine soil, watered by a second stream, called Aub-Zerdoo, coming from the north-east, and falling into the Komeshah, besides several smaller brooks of fine clear water, perhaps leading from these artificially, as they now irrigated grounds sown with rice and

maize. On our right, or about a mile to the southward of us, and nearly in the centre of the plain, was a large castle, apparently of modern structure, bearing the name of the plain itself, namely, Chum Chemal.

It was about noon when we reached Saana, a large village seated among gardens, on the slope of a hill, and having good water before it in the plain. The great public khans, or caravanserai, are now discontinued, that of Bisitoon being the last to the eastward; so that passengers are obliged to seek for shelter among the villagers, or sleep in the open air.

We halted here about half an hour, chiefly to learn the practicability of reaching a more advanced station of halt before night; on ascertaining which, we set out again on our way.

Our companions insisting upon going by another route more southerly than the one we had chosen, we here separated, and continued our course about east-north-east, over gently-rising ground. We had not proceeded far, however, before we met a party of twelve persons, among whom were two women and an old man; the whole of them on foot, and all bitterly bewailing their fate. On enquiring into the cause of their sorrow, we found that, about two miles distant, on the road we were pursuing, a party of four horsemen and ten men on foot had robbed them all of whatever was worth taking away. The old man, who was a green-turbanned descendant of the Prophet, had lost a fine mare, with all her lading; and the women, both of whom were his wives, had been dismounted from mules also charged with their personal baggage. The others had been stripped of such money and arms as they possessed, and all were made sufficiently to repent their own want of union and firmness; as they were divided among themselves on the occasion, and no attempt at resistance was made. They conjured us, who were now only three in number, the Dervish Ismael, the Faqueer Zein-el-Abedeen, and myself, by every thing sacred, not to go on, as our fate was certain if we did.

I consulted my companions, however, and by a seasonable appeal to their pride, made them ashamed to confess their fears: then, going through the form of swearing the one on his musket, by making him kiss the lock and the muzzle, and present it for firing, and binding the other by his sword, as he kissed its hilt and point, and directed it upwards to heaven, that we should *all* stand or fall together, we went on in a dead silence for nearly an hour.

At length the very party who had been minutely described to us, appeared approaching towards us from ahead; the four horsemen kept the centre of the main road, six of those on foot were on the high ground on their right, and four on the low plain on their left. They were yet about a quarter of a mile off; and between us both, but closer to our own position, were several goats-hair tents of shepherds near the road. We made no halt; but as we passed these tents, several ill-looking fellows, armed with bludgeons, hoes, and hatchets, came out of them, and intercepted us, by forming a line right across our path. This was danger from a quarter that we had not at all expected; and as the eyes of those farther on, whom we now believed to be aided by those near, as colleagues, were no doubt fixed upon us, we determined to push through this first obstacle, if only to show them that we were prepared for the second. Accordingly, drawing one of my pistols, which I held with the bridle in my left hand, and poising my spear high in my right, I set off at full gallop, and my companions steadily followed me.

We succeeded completely in breaking the line of our enemies, one of whom fell, and was trampled on by my horse; another had a deep wound in the side, and his garments torn to ribbands by my spear; and a third received a cut from the sword of the Faqueer, who came last in the train; but no shots were fired, those being reserved for future use. The horsemen ahead, seeing this, made a bold push towards us; and, without at all checking our reins, we met the shock on a gallop, by which the Faqueer

and two of our opponents, with whom he had come in contact, were unhorsed. I myself received a slight spear wound in the side, but had the satisfaction to unhorse two opponents; one by the shock of meeting, and the power of my lance, and the other by a close encounter with the sabre. The men on foot were evidently afraid to draw near; and they could do us no harm at a distance, their only weapons being large bludgeons and hatchets. The Faqueer remounted with great alacrity, and the Dervish behaved steadily throughout the whole affair. We therefore caught this opportunity of the general panic, to raise our tone as conquerors, and to insist upon our opponents, who were altogether five times as numerous as ourselves, instantly going on towards their colleagues at the tents; adding, that whoever among them dared to look back on the way, should meet a harder fate than even the wife of Lot.

We followed up our triumph by pushing on one of the horsemen by the butt of the musket, and another by the end of the spear; and, discharging our pieces over their heads, created a sufficient degree of terror in all parties most effectually to hasten their escape from us.

We now went over bare land, still keeping our course to the eastward, and ascended a high range of steep and barren hills; from the summit of which we noted the bearing of Jebel Bisitoon to be west by north, by compass. From hence we went down over a rocky road, coming out on a plain below, considerably above the level of that which we had left, before crossing the range. On our right was a large village, and near it a castle of modern structure, standing on an artificial ground of more ancient date. The name of the village we could not learn, but the castle was known to both my companions as the Giaour Khallah-se, or Castle of the Infidels. We could learn no farther particulars regarding it than its name.

From hence we ascended to the north-east over barren land, and overtook a party of Suzemaneeah, or courtezans, one of whom

was not more than twelve years old, and beautiful as an angel. Their place of residence or retirement was pointed out to us by them, in the hills on our left, being an isolated cottage remote from all other dwellings. In answer to the enquiries of the Dervish and Faqueer, they assured us, laughingly, that when we returned this way, they should be most happy to entertain us in the manner which our good appearance bespoke us to deserve; but that for the present they had guests engaged, whom they had too high a sense of honour to disappoint.

We now came to a second plain, in passing which, we crossed over a long, low bridge of many arches, leading over a marshy tract. To the north-east of this, about a mile, was a small village, with gardens and modern walls; and beyond it, three or four miles in the plain, a large castle, ruined and deserted. This was called Boat Khana Jemsheed, or the Idol dwelling of Jemsheed:—of this we could learn no more than the name.

It was about an hour from hence, and past sunset, when we reached Kengawar, having been nearly twelve hours on the road; our course being about east by north, and the distance forty miles. There was no khan, or place of public reception, here; and the governor had given to one of his subjects a monopoly of selling corn for the horses of passengers, so that we became completely at the mercy of this man. He refused, indeed, to let us enter the town at all; obliging us to sleep below, on a marshy ground, with some Persian robbers, who were going as pilgrims to the tombs of the Imams; and, disagreeable as this was, there was no remedy for it: we therefore bore it in patient submission.

Sept. 20th.—The night was so cold and stormy, and a vigilant look-out after our horses, among an acknowledged herd of holy thieves, was so necessary, that we obtained not a wink of sleep. When we remounted in the morning, we went up through the town, into which we had been prevented from entering on the preceding evening; but as our passage through it was rapid,

there was no time afforded for the examination of its minuter features. Its general aspect was all that could be caught.

Kengawar is seated on the side of a gentle hill, at the north-western edge of a fine plain, and has within its site several eminences and depressions. In its present state, it contains about two thousand dwellings, with two mosques for the population, who are all Sheeahs. Most of those dwellings are well-built; and besides these there are extensive and well-furnished bazaars, the shops of which have their doors secured by long diagonal bars of iron, going from the locks obliquely across them, in a way that we had not noted any where else.

The town appears to have been once much larger than at present, as vestiges of buildings, and the wreck of human labour, are seen in several places beyond the limits of its present site. These, however, appear to be of a higher antiquity than the Mohammedan era. The most remarkable feature of this kind is the portion of a large building, nearly in the centre of the present town, and called the Castle of the Infidels. To one part of it is attached a new mosque, the outer enclosure of which is continued from the castle's walls. The foundation of the western front, with the surbasement of the building there, and a range of marble columns still standing on it, apparently in their original place, are all perfect, and are undoubtedly the work of a people either coeval with, or antecedent to, the visit of the Greeks to this country. There is nothing Saracen in all its appearance; and if not a work of western conquerors, it is undisputably of the early Persian or Median empire. The walls are formed of large well-hewn stones of a yellowish colour, and the surbasement of the front is terminated by a plain moulding: the white marble columns, as they now stand, are of perfectly plain shafts, without base or capital; they are from four to five feet in diameter, of a low proportion in height, and in this respect, as well as in their intercolumniation, approaching nearer to the Doric order than any other. These

pillars are now built up by portions of modern wall between them, as is seen in the front of the great Temple of the Sun at Baalbeck, and in most of the temples of Egypt; many of which, like this ancient edifice, are inhabited by several poor families.

The situation of whatever city might have occupied the site of Kengawar, must have been always a most agreeable one: a fine and extensive plain before it, on the east and south; a deliciously cool air in the summer, at an elevation of nearly four thousand feet from the level of the sea; a good supply of water for gardens and cultivation, and a temperature suited to the production of almost all kinds of fruits. The edifice whose remains are thus imperfectly described, appears to have been a palace rather than a castle; but its exact form, or the precise extent of its *enceinte*, would be difficult to be made out at this remote period.

The few features that are detailed in ancient authors of Ecbatana were still present to my mind, and many of them seemed to me to correspond with the local peculiarities of this situation; but it was yet necessary to see Hamadan, and estimate its claims, before any decisive opinion could be formed on this subject.

D'Anville fixes on this place as the site of Concobar,* and is followed in this opinion by Macdonald Kinnier.† This last writer says, "We read in history of three places which will in some degree apply to the situation and description of Kengawar: the Palace near Ecbatana, where Antigonus retired after the defeat by Eumenes; the Temple of Jupiter Belus, in Elymais, plundered by Antiochus the Great, to pay the Roman tribute; and the town of Concobar. As the exact position, however, of the Royal Palace is not stated by Diodorus, and the country of the Elymais is considerably to the south of Kengawar, I am inclined, from the striking similarity of name—(for the *b* and the *v* are continually pronounced alike)—to give the preference to Concobar."†

* Compendium of Ancient Geography.

† Geograph. Memoir of the Persian Empire, 4to. p. 130.

There are several errors, however, in these data, as will be hereafter shown; and the conclusions from them are of course equally erroneous. Antiochus the Great being compelled to retire beyond Mount Taurus, and to pay a fine of two thousand talents to the Romans, to which his revenues were unequal, attempted to plunder the Temple of Belus in *Susiana*, which so incensed the inhabitants that they killed him with all his followers. His son, the fourth Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, or the Illustrious, attempted to plunder Persepolis, but without effect. Diodorus and Justin say that Antiochus Epiphanes having learned that a Temple of Belus, in the Province of Elymais, contained a great treasure, he entered it during the night, and carried off all its riches. Others assert that this Temple was consecrated to Diana. Tacitus says, merely, that there was a Temple of that Goddess in Persia, and Strabo adds that one of the Parthian Kings carried off from it ten thousand talents, and that the Temple was called Zara. But Elymais was the Jewish name for *Persepolis:* from Elam, their name for Persia, generally; and it was to the Temple of Diana *there*, that the views of Antiochus Epiphanes was directed; so that, besides the confounding the situation of these places, there seems to be no sufficient grounds for fixing the Temple of Diana at *Concobar*, as is done in the Map of Persia.*

* Diodorus Siculus says, "The river Eulæus forms a partition between the high country of Persia called Elymais and Susiana. This river issues out of the country of Media, and in the midst of its course becomes lost in the ground, but re-issuing again, it runs through Mesobatene, and environs the Fort and Castle of Susa, with the Temple of Diana, which is had in great reverence and honour above all other temples in those parts:—indeed, the very river itself is in such request, and the water so highly regarded, that the Kings drink of no other; and therefore they carry it with them a great way into the country."—B. 6. c. 27. From one part of this passage, it would appear that the Temple of Diana was in the lower part of Persia, near Susa; but, on the other hand, Elymais is repeatedly said to be the higher part of Persia, and the Temple of Diana is here said to have been seated in Elymais. Yet, in the same chapter, Elymais, before called the high country of Persia, is said to be so marshy, and abounding with water, that there was no way through it without making a great circuit. It was filled also with serpents which bred in the rivers flowing through it. This, therefore,

On leaving Kengawar we went east by north over the plain, and after we had gone about a mile and a-half, we had opposite to us, on our right, distant less than a mile, a large castle, and an enclosed town, standing on a long artificial mound. This place was called Wellashgherd, and the whole is said to be the work of a certain Firooz Ullah Khan, evidently a Moslem, but of whose age or history we could obtain no satisfactory details.

From hence we continued to go east, and east by north, over a stony and barren land, drinking at a small and poor village in the way: and in about six hours from Kengawar we came on a fine fertile soil, when, after passing through many gardens, and over streams of water, we entered the large village of Sadawah, where we found shelter in a private house, and took up our quarters.

The character of the mountains here begins to change: at Bisitoon and Kengawar, they were chiefly of lime-stone; but here, in the plain, we had large round masses of grey granite, with a profusion of blue slate and white quartz, with reddish veins in it. The walls of the gardens were built of large square masses of mud, placed edgewise on each other, like those at Damascus; they were lofty, solid, and of great extent. The doors, however, were all of stone, and traversed on a pivot from their own body, exactly like those of the buildings and dwellings of the Hauran and Syria. The largest of the stone doors here, however, did not exceed three or four feet square; their thickness I could not ascertain, as most of them were closed. They were formed each of one solid slab of blue slate, perfectly plain, and were secured by a bolt on the inside, access to which was had by thrusting the hand through a circular hole in the door itself.

The village of Sadawah occupies, with its numerous gardens, an extent of scarcely less than three or four miles in circuit;

could only apply to the low country of Susiana; and the Temple of Diana, if it were near to the Castle of Susa, must have been in this low tract of country. It must be confessed, however, that the ancient geography of this part is extremely confused, and often baffles all conjecture.

though the population is thought not to exceed four thousand souls. It stands at the eastern extremity of the plain we had crossed, and has a lofty range of mountains rising above it on the east, over which the road to Hamadan leads. Its gardens, which are numerous, and well-watered, are its chief support, and furnish occupation to the greater number of the inhabitants. In Sadawah itself, I was struck with the presence of a great quantity of old pottery, in fragments, scattered over the town, some glazed and coloured, and some plain; but I noted no vestiges of architecture, or remains of ancient buildings there.

About a mile to the north-west of the town, is an old castle, standing on a very high artificial mound, which can be seen from a great distance. It has now a small village, called Khakree, within its enclosure; but the age of the castle itself we could not ascertain. About the same distance in the opposite quarter, or a mile south-east of the town, is a pretty village, called Imam Zadé, seated on a rising ground among gardens, but thinly peopled.

We were visited at our quarters in this place, by an exceedingly clever Dervish, from Herat, in Khorassan; who, as well as Ismael, had been at Bokhara, the chief city of the Turcomans. He was young and handsome, but most fantastically dressed; he was a perfect master of the Persian poets, entire odes from whose works he repeated by heart, with a facility that surprised me, and charmed Ismael, to whom they were all familiar, absolutely into tears. The politeness of our new friend was of the most polished cast, and could have been acquired only in the best society.

This man, who spoke sufficiently of Arabic for us to converse without the medium of translation, dressed as he was in rags, with bare breast and arms, uncovered by even the fragment of a shirt, with naked legs, and half-naked thighs, a beard and mustachios never trimmed, thick locks of hair hanging uncombed over his neck and forehead, a fancy-coloured painted cap on his head, a large, heavy, and rusty chain of iron, with brass rings, wound round his arms, and a huge ram's horn slung across his shoulders

by a thong, talked of Plato, Socrates, and Aristotle, whose Systems of Ethics he had read in Arabic, with a freedom and accuracy that proved him to be better acquainted with the philosophy of these sages, than many who had read them in their original languages.

He conceived Aristotle to have been a man of the greatest mind, but too universally occupied on all subjects of human enquiry. Socrates, he thought, was too fond of the neatness and pith of a saying, to be always just or excellent in its meaning; but Plato he considered to be the prince of moral philosophers, and estimated the worth of his short Treatise on the Immortality of the Soul, at a higher rate than all the volumes which all the other philosophers of his age and country had written.

This Dervish was well acquainted with all the countries he had visited, and they included nearly every part of Asia. His conversation was most interesting; and I regretted beyond measure the being unable at the moment to note down many striking particulars, which, for want of immediate record, soon escaped my memory.

Of Herat, the place of his birth and long residence, he repeated the tradition of its being founded by one of the Emirs of Neriman, the hero of the world, who bore the name of Herat, and gave it to this city, which, after being once destroyed, was rebuilt by Alexander the Great. He repeated to us the Persian proverb, which says, "If the soil of Ispahan, the fresh air of Herat, and the water of Khorassan, were united in one spot, the inhabitants of it would never die;" as well as that which says, "The world is like a vast sea, in the midst of which the district of Khorassan is like a fine oyster, and Herat is the pearl contained within its shell." He enumerated the tombs of several learned men there, and spoke of many wonderful works of the infidels in the neighbourhood, now in ruins; admitting also, that in the dynasty of the Ghaurides, there were in the city of Herat itself twelve thousand shops, six thousand public baths, caravanserais, and water-mills, three hundred and fifty colleges, five temples and monasteries, and

four hundred and forty-four thousand inhabited dwellings. The population is even at present greater than that of Bagdad: the people are chiefly Soonnees, and are still famous for their works in metal, particularly swords, and other arms, of the ancient iron of Khorassan, which is superior to that of Damascus.

On most of these subjects I had questioned him very closely; and though politeness, and a wish to acquiesce in my views, might have in some instances influenced his replies, yet, in almost all cases, he evidently understood the subject well, and hesitated, denied, approved, or explained, as the occasion seemed to him to require.

The Dervish was also well acquainted with the account given by Mirkhond, of the taking of the true cross of Christ, as well as with the tradition, that Poorandocht, a Persian queen, had restored it to Jerusalem, and that Shah Abbas had taken it again from the Turks; and in reciting all the passages that he remembered, from his reading, on this subject, he concluded with the beautiful distich of Ferdousi, expressive of the transitory nature of human greatness—"The spider weaves his web in the palace of the Cæsars, and the owl keeps her watch, like a sentinel, upon the ruined tower of Afrasiab."

In calling himself a Soofee, he was well acquainted with the modern application of that term to a sect of Indian philosophers, called Pramnæ, by Strabo, who were uninfluenced by the superstitions of the country in which they lived (India), and who were in constant opposition to the Bramins, and entered into controversy with them, on their particular tenets, whenever occasion offered. He knew also that the Soofees of his own day had endeavoured to reconcile the ancient doctrines of the Metempsychosis, as taught by the Hindoos, and the two principles of good and evil, as taught by Zoroaster, with the tenets of the Christian religion.*

* One of the leaders of this sect, at one time, retired to a cavern, after the fashion of impostors, and brought out from thence paintings and writings, which he pretended to have

This man, like my own Dervish, Ismael, was a perfect Epicurean in faith and practice; he held pleasure to be the only good worth pursuing, though the means by which he sought its enjoyment seemed unaccountably strange. He had been over almost all the Eastern World, and was now going to Bagdad, where Ismael gave him introductions to his best friends; and, embracing him with fervour, expressed a hope that they might one day meet again. He continued with us, however, until nearly midnight, when mere weariness alone led to our separation.

received from Heaven, and called himself the Paraclete, or Comforter, promised by Jesus to follow him; but he and all his disciples were at length put to death by Baharam, and the skin of the impostor was stripped off, and hung at the gate of the city of Shapoor.—*Malcolm's Persia*, vol. 1, p. 101.

CHAPTER IX.

ENTRY INTO HAMADAN—THE SITE OF THE ANCIENT ECBATANA.

SEPT. 21.—Leaving Sadawah at daylight, we ascended the mountain to the eastward of it, by a winding road, passing in our way a small domed tomb, on an eminence, which was venerated as the sepulchre of a Sheikh Rubbeagh. We were about two hours in gaining the summit of this mountain, walking up the greater part of the way, to ease our horses, the road being everywhere of steep ascent.

The composition of the mountain throughout was blue slate, interspersed with veins of quartz; and the height of its summit appeared to me, by rough estimation, to be about three thousand feet from its base, which is itself an elevated level of about the same height above the plain of Bagdad; so that the tops of this

range may be perhaps about seven thousand feet above the level of the sea.

We found the air very sharp and cold, and were exceedingly glad to hasten our descent on its eastern side, which showed everywhere the same materials, but was more rugged, and broken into deeper ravines and bolder cliffs. In the way we met some Persian shepherds, with their flocks, and passed a few springs of bitter water, descending into the eastern plain.

Near the foot of the hill we came to a small khan, called Karwansera Meear Kotel Sadawah, which had been erected by some humane individual, as a shelter for passengers. During the four winter months, this mountain is said to be impassable by caravans, from the snows with which it is covered; and it is asserted that not a season passes without the death of many shepherds and peasants from the cold alone.

Our descent on the east was not much more than half the distance of our ascent on the west in perpendicular height, when we came out on an extensive and fine plain, covered with villages, gardens, and brown ploughed fields; and, turning to the south-east, we opened the prospect of Hamadan, seated in the same plain, and standing amidst a profusion of trees and verdure.

The whole distance of our journey from Sadawah to Hamadan was about eight hours, and our course on the whole about east-south-east. On entering this town, we passed through a burying-ground, of which the tombs were of an unusual kind; some of these were like stone chests, or sarcophagi, of the common size of the human form, closely covered on the top, and sculptured all over the sides and ends with devices of flowers, &c., and very ancient characters of Arabic inscription on them: others, again, were four times the human size, in height, breadth, and depth, and were formed of large slabs of polished stone, like the planks of a chest, each side in one piece, and all perfectly plain, except the upper part, in the centre of which was a small tablet, for the inscription. The tombs of the females had devices of combs, and

other articles of the toilette, to distinguish them from those of the males.

The entrance to the town of Hamadan was as mean as that of the smallest village we had seen, and great ruin and desertion was apparent on every side. We saw an old dilapidated brick sepulchre, standing detached, of a square form, and evidently of ancient date as a Mohammedan work, but now entirely neglected. This was said to be the tomb of Sheekh Aboo-el-Senna, or, as he is sometimes called, Abu Ali-ben-Senna, the Avicenna of Europeans, a distinguished philosopher, and author of the Arabic work called Mukamat-el-Arafin; but whose name and reputation seems to be almost forgotten here.

We continued our way through poor bazaars and miserable streets, until, after much difficulty, we obtained shelter in a half ruined caravansera.

During our detention of three days at Hamadan, where we were kept waiting for a safe opportunity to proceed on our way, I had the ill-fortune to be seized with a violent fever, originating, perhaps, in the combined causes of sudden change of temperature, bad water, and the free use of fruits, which, from necessity and convenience, formed here our chief food. This confined me to the khan more than I could have wished; but I still profited by our stay, to examine many parts of the town, and extend my enquiries to such particulars as most interested me at the moment; the record of which was, however, necessarily very brief and hurried, though there is no spot where I should have been more pleased to have been able to make extended enquiries, and amass copious materials for description and investigation. It is not in the power of travellers, however, always to command what they desire; and in barbarous countries especially, they are often detained against their will in places of no interest, and hurried away as precipitately from those at which they would gladly prolong their stay.

Up to the time of Sir William Jones, whose authority on subjects of Oriental geography, few dared to dispute, it was con-

sidered that Tabreez was the site of the ancient Ecbatana; but subsequent authorities almost universally agree in placing this capital of the Median Empire at Hamadan. The data on which this conclusion is founded are very clearly and concisely stated by Macdonald Kinnier,* and can leave no further doubt on the subject. As we have seen before, Ecbatana was a city existing in the time of Semiramis, by whom it was visited nearly two thousand years before the Christian era; and Diodorus Siculus, in

* 'There is every reason to believe, that the city of Hamadan either stands upon, or near the site of the ancient Ecbatana. Pliny says, that Susa is equidistant from Seleucia and Ecbatana, and that the capital of Atropotia (Azerbijan) is midway between Artaxata and Ecbatana. Isidore of Charax places it in the way between Seleucia and Parthia; and Diodorus Siculus describes it as situated in a low plain, distant twelve fursungs from a mountain called Orontes. These testimonies are as strong in favour of the position of Hamadan, as they are irreconcilable to that of Tabreez, which Sir William Jones supposes to be the Median capital. The former is nearly equidistant from Susa and Seleucia, is in the direct road from Seleucia to Parthia, and situated in a low plain, at the foot of the celebrated Mount Elwund: but Tabreez is neither equidistant from Seleucia and Susa, nor is it in the road from Seleucia to Parthia; on the contrary, it is situated in a distant province, which has almost as often been included in the kingdom of Armenia as in Persia. When I was at Hamadan, in 1810, I was shown the tomb of Mordecai and Esther: † a circumstance, of itself, sufficient to attest the antiquity of the place. The Persians, themselves, say it was the favourite summer residence of most of their sovereigns, from the days of Darius to that of Jungeez Khan; and, indeed, it is reasonable to suppose, that a preference might be given to its fine situation. During eight months in the year, the climate is delightful; but in winter the cold is excessive, and fuel with difficulty procured. The plain is intersected by innumerable little streams, covered with gardens and villages, and the vegetation is the most luxurious I ever beheld.

'Elwund, which is, no doubt, the Mount Orontes of Diodorus, when viewed at a distance, has the appearance of a long range of mountains. The length of Elwund proper is, however, not more than twelve miles. It is completely separated from the northern ridge; and near its summit, which is tipped with continual snow and seldom obscured by clouds, is a beautiful valley, perfumed by a thousand sweet-scented flowers. This mountain is famed in the East for its mines, waters, and vegetable productions. The Indians suppose that it contains the philosopher's stone; and the natives of Hamadan believe that some of its grasses have the power of transmuting the basest metals into gold, as well as of curing any distemper to which the human frame is exposed. The only curiosity I observed on this mountain was an inscription upon a rock, called Gunj-Nauma, or history of the treasure: a name which it has received, from a belief that it contains an account of a treasure buried near it. This inscription is in the same character as those at Tukti Jumsheed, Maudir i Solimane, and on the Babylonian bricks.'—*Geog. Mem. on Persia*, 4to.

† 'The tomb of Avicenna is also at Hamadan.'

describing that event, gives some of the local features of the place, which mark its identity with Hamadan,—especially the description of the mountain Orontes, the plain below it, and the general want of water.* Pliny, in his general description of Persia, speaks of Darius the king having transferred the city of Ecbatana to the mountains, as if there had been a place of that name originally in the lower parts of Persia, near Persepolis and Pasagarda, or the Tomb of Cyrus.† In another part of his writings he speaks of a peculiar oily spring near Ecbatana, of which I could gain no information at the present day, though such springs are not among the most permanent features of nature.‡ The locality of Ecbatana is, however, corroborated by

* When Semiramis came to Ecbatana, which is situated in a low and even plain, she built there a stately palace, and bestowed more of her care and pains here than she had done at any other place. For the city wanting water, (there being no spring near,) she plentifully supplied it with good and wholesome water, brought thither with a great deal of toil and expense after this manner. There is a mountain called Orontes, twelve furlongs distant from the city, exceedingly high and steep, for the space of five-and-twenty furlongs up to the top: on the other side of the mountain there is a large lake, which empties itself into the river. At the foot of this mountain she dug a canal fifteen feet in breadth, and forty in depth, through which she conveyed water in great abundance into the city.—*Diod. Sic.* b. 2, c. i.

† Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 6, cap. 26.

‡ Polyclytus (he says) speaks of a certain fountain of Cilicia, near to the city of Soli, which yielded an unctuous or oleous water, that served instead of oil. Theophrastus reports the same of another fountain in Ethiopia which had the like quality. And Lycas states that among the Indians, there is a fountain, the water of which is used in lamps to maintain light. The same thing (he adds) is reported of another water near Ecbatana, the capital city of Media.—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* b. 31, c. 2.

It is more than probable that this is the same substance, not oily water, but petroleum or bitumen, mentioned by Plutarch in his Life of Alexander. He says 'Alexander traversed all the province of Babylon,' which immediately made its submission; and in the district of Ecbatana he was particularly struck with a gulph of fire, which streamed continually, as from an inexhaustible source. He admired also a flood of naptha, not far from the gulph, which flowed in such abundance that it formed a lake. The naptha in many respects resembles the bitumen, but is much more inflammable. Before any fire touches it, it catches light from a flame at some distance, and often kindles all the intermediate air. The barbarians, to show the King its force and the subtlety of its nature, scattered some drops of it in the street which led to his lodgings, and standing at one end, they applied their torches to some of the first drops, for it was night. The flame communicated itself swifter than thought, and the street was instantaneously on fire.'—*Plutarch's Life of Alexander.*

other authorities. Ammianus Marcellinus, for instance, in speaking of the Nisæan horses, places them in the plains of a fertile country of Assyria, on the western side of a high mountain, called Corone. This is evidently a part of the chain called Zagros, Orontes, and Jason, in the same place; and Corone is written perhaps for Celonæ, the name of the district where these horses were bred. Now Ecbatana is placed by Ammianus at the foot of Mount Jason, in the country of the Syro-Medes, which just before he numbers with Zagros, Orontes, and Corone, as parts of the country inhabited by the warlike nation of the Suziens, and which it appears he confounded as parts of the same chain which separates Susiana from Media.*

This corresponds also with the distance assigned by Diodorus Siculus to Ecbatana from Persepolis, when, in narrating the return of Antigonus with his whole army into Media, after the defeat and death of Eumenes, he describes him as spending the rest of the winter in a town not far from Ecbatana, where the Palace Royal of Media stood; and adds, that when Antigonus marched from Ecbatana, the capital of Media, into Persia, it took him twenty days march to reach Persepolis.† Again, in Arrian's History of Alexander's expedition, the distance from Ecbatana to Persepolis is estimated at fifteen days *forced* marches: as Alexander marched twelve days from Persepolis, and then encamped within three days of Ecbatana. Plutarch estimates this march of eleven days as three thousand three hundred stadia, or about thirty-eight miles per day; and adding the three days yet remaining before reaching Ecbatana, the whole distance would be nearly four thousand stadia, or about five hundred miles.

One of the most interesting events that is recorded as happening at Ecbatana, is the death of Hephæstion, the favourite of Alexander; and the grief of the Macedonian conqueror at the loss of his friend. It is adverted to slightly by Diodorus; but

* Amm. Mar. lib. 23, cap. 6.

† Diod. Sic. lib. 19, cap. 2, 3.

detailed more fully by Arrian, whose account is worth transcribing at length: Plutarch says, that a supply of three thousand actors had been newly despatched from Greece, to divert the King, by shows and entertainments, when he had finished his most urgent affairs at Ecbatana, and that it was during their exhibition that Hephæstion was taken ill. Plutarch also confirms the account given of the immoderate grief of the King, who ordered the manes and tails of all his mules and horses to be cut, and thrown down the battlements of the neighbouring cities. And Ælian expressly says, that he cast down the walls of Ecbatana to the ground.

The description of Hephæstion's death and Alexander's sorrow at Ecbatana, as given by Arrian, will be found below.*

* 'When Alexander arrived at Ecbatana, he offered sacrifice to the gods for good success, according to his custom; he also exhibited gymnastic and musical sports, and made a royal entertainment for his friends. About this time Hephæstion was taken violently ill, and it was on the seventh day of his sickness when the boys exercised themselves at wrestling. But when the king received news of his declining state, he left off his sports, and hastened towards him with all speed; but before he could reach the place, he was dead. Sundry authors have given an account of Alexander's grief upon this occasion, very different from each other; but in this they all agree, that he was seized with immoderate sorrow; but after what manner he testified it to the world, is a matter of great dispute among them, some giving their opinion one way, some another, according as they are inclined by passion or prejudice, either for Alexander or Hephæstion. They who have wrote the most extravagant accounts seem to have imagined, that whatever the king said or did, to show his excessive concern for the death of one whom he so dearly loved, ought to redound to his praise. Others are rather inclined to condemn such immoderate grief, as unbecoming any monarch, and much more Alexander. Some tell us, that he lay almost a whole day, lamenting over the dead body of his friend, and refused to depart from him, till he was forced away by his friends. Others lengthen out the time of his lamenting over him to a whole day and night. Others again affirm, that he ordered Glaucus, his physician, to be crucified, because of the potion which he had indiscreetly administered to him; while others tell us, that when Glaucus saw that Hephæstion would not refrain from drinking an unreasonable quantity of wine, he refused to take any further care of him. That Alexander should lie prostrate upon the dead body of so dear a friend, and tear his hair, and show other signs of grief, I neither deem improbable, nor indecent, they being done after the example of Achilles, whom he imitated from his youth. Some authors tell us, that he caused the body of Hephæstion to be put into a chariot, and that he would be charioteer himself; but this is not credible. Others say, he caused the temple of Æsculapius in Ecbatana to be demolished, which was a barbarous action, not at all suited to the character of Alexander, and, indeed, much rather resembling that of Xerxes, a known despiser and reviler of the gods, who is reported to have thrown fetters, out of revenge, into

Of more recent events, the entombment of Esther and Mordecai at Hamadan, may be mentioned. The sepulchre of both is still shown there, and pilgrimages are made by the Jews of the surrounding country to this sacred building, the key of which is always in the keeping of the chief priest of the Israelites in the city. My illness prevented my visiting either this, or the tomb of Avicenna, the great Arabian physician, which is also shown here: but I learnt from the few inhabitants of the place, with whom I had any intercourse, that both these relics of antiquity are held in great honour by the respective classes of Jews and Mohammedans; and that the minutest traditions respecting these are treasured up with care; while no one knows, or desires to know any thing of Semiramis, Alexander, Hephæstion, or any other of the Pagan personages, whose names are associated with the history of

the Hellespont. However, what is related by some authors seems not improbable, namely, that when Alexander was upon his march towards Babylon, many ambassadors from the Grecian states met him, among whom were some from Epidaurus, whose request when he had granted, he sent an offering to be hung up in the temple of Æsculapius, notwithstanding, as he said, that god had not showed himself at all favourable, in not saving the life of a friend, whom he loved as his own spirit. Many assure us that he ordered sacrifices to be offered to him as to a hero; and some add, that he sent to Ammon's temple to consult the oracle there, whether he should not sacrifice to him as a god; but Jupiter denied that liberty. However, all authors agree, that the king neither tasted food, nor changed his apparel, for three whole days after Hephæstion's death, but lay all that while either lamenting, or silently endeavouring to conceal his grief, and that he commanded sumptuous obsequies to be performed at Babylon, at the expense of ten thousand talents (some say much more), and ordered a strict and public mourning to be observed throughout all the barbarian countries. Many of Alexander's friends, that they might divert that excess of grief into which he had then fallen, are said to have devoted themselves and their armour to Hephæstion; and that Eumenes, whom we mentioned to have had a grudge against him, a short while before, was the first proposer of it. This office, however, he performed to him when dead, lest the king should have entertained a suspicion that he had rejoiced at his death. Alexander gave strict orders that none should be appointed captain over the auxiliary horse in his place, lest his name should be forgotten in the cohort, but that it should always be named Hephæstion's cohort, and that the banner which he had chosen should be continued to be carried before them, as well in their several marches as in battle. He moreover exhibited gymnastic and musical sports, much more sumptuous and magnificent than any of his former, as well for the multitude of the combatants, as the greatness of the prizes contended for. Three thousand combatants are said to have been reserved for this solemnity, who, shortly after, performed their exercises at his tomb.'—*Arrian's History of Alexander's Expedition.*

Ecbatana. In the time of Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Hamadan, and described the tomb of Mordecai and Esther,* there were no less than fifty thousand Jews settled here, which is more than the whole of the present population: but this is easily credible, as the whole aspect of the city gives proof of former magnificence and subsequent decline. It is remarkable too, that at the same period, according to the same authority, there were not more than fifteen thousand Jews in Ispahan, though in that city resided the Chief, in a University, on which all the other Jews of Persia were dependent. This fact alone proves with what comparatively high importance the sacred depository at Hamadan was regarded, for it was this alone which could have drawn so many more Jews to reside in that city than at Ispahan.

* Sir Robert Kerr Porter obtained the following translations of the Hebrew inscriptions still existing in the tomb of Mordecai and Esther.

Hebrew Inscription on a marble slab in the Sepulchre of Esther and Mordecai.

'Mordecai, beloved and honoured by a King, was great and good. His garments were as those of a sovereign. Ahasuerus covered him with this rich dress, and also placed a golden chain around his neck. The city of Susa rejoiced at his honours, and his high fortune became the glory of the Jews.'

Inscription encompassing the Sarcophagus of Mordecai.

'It is said by David, preserve me, O God! I am now in thy presence—I have cried at the gate of Heaven, that thou art my God; and what goodness I have received came from thee, O Lord!

'Those whose bodies are now beneath in this earth, when animated by thy mercy, were great; and whatever happiness was bestowed upon them in this world, came from thee, O God!

'Their grief and sufferings were many, at the first; but they became happy, because they always called upon thy holy name in their miseries. Thou liftedst me up, and I became powerful. Thine enemies sought to destroy me in the early times of my life; but the shadow of thy hand was upon me, and covered me, as a tent, from their wicked purposes!—MORDECAI.'

Inscription around the Sarcophagus of Esther the Queen.

'I praise thee, O God, that thou hast created me! I know that my sins merit punishment, yet I hope for mercy at thy hands; for whenever I call upon thee, thou art with me; thy holy presence secures me from all evil.

'My heart is at ease, and my fear of thee increases. My life became, through thy goodness, at the last full of peace.

'O God! do not shut my soul out from thy divine presence! Those whom thou lovest, never feel the torments of hell. Lead me, O merciful Father, to the life of life; that I may be filled with the Heavenly fruits of paradise!—ESTHER'.—*Travels in Persia*, vol. ii. p. 109.

CHAPTER X.

FROM HAMADAN, BY ALFRAOON, KERDAKHOURD, AND GIAOUR-SE, TO GOOLPYEGAN.

SEPT. 24th.—Hearing of a party destined for Ispahan, who were to set out this afternoon, we prepared for our departure, determining not to lose the occasion of their company. My fever, which was sufficiently violent to confine me to my carpet in the khan during the whole of yesterday, had rather increased than diminished; and I had no sort of medicine with me to counteract it. This, however, was not a place from which to hope any other relief than rest could afford; and as even that had been hitherto constantly interrupted by idle enquirers, we determined to quit Hamadan with all possible speed.

It was immediately after the prayers of noon that we mounted our horses at the khan, and going southerly through the town,

came into the high road. Our course along this lay east-north-east for the first hour, over unequal ground, having villages and gardens in sight of us on all sides, and the lofty range of Kooh Alwend on our right. This brought us to the large village of Tafreejan, some separate portions of which were walled in, resembling distinct castles. The valley in which it lay had several streams of water, many fruit-gardens, and abundance of poplar trees: but, retired as this spot seemed to be from the public eye, there were many courtezans who had fixed their abodes here.

From Tafreejan, our course lay about a point more southerly, and the road became more barren and more uneven; the basis of it, as in the first part of our way, being hills of blue slate, with veins of white quartz interspersed. A second hour by this route brought us to the village of Yalpan, where we found a part of our promised company, the remainder being still behind.

Since quitting Bisitoon we had seen no public khans on the road, nor are there any, it is said, between this and Ispahan. Passengers take shelter, therefore, where they can find it; sometimes beneath a shed; at others, in the stable with their horses; and, as was our case at Kengawar, they sometimes sleep in the open air. In the way from Tafreejan to Yalpan we had a heavy shower of rain, which lasted nearly the whole of the way, and wetted us so completely, that we needed more than ordinarily some place of shelter, to dry our garments and to repose. The cold of the air was extreme, and on the range of hills on our right, which is a distinct chain from the Alwend, there had recently fallen sufficient snow to sheet over their summits with unbroken white, though the spot where the snow lay was not more than two hours' distant from hence. The place on which our companions had taken up their quarters was merely an open court, with some few little dark hovels around it, into which asses and horned cattle were driven at night. After wandering about the village, however, for some time, we at length found a subterraneous cave, apparently a place of shelter for cattle also, in which we took up our abode.

SEPT. 25th.—After a night of great suffering and increased fever, with total loss of appetite and insatiable thirst, I felt myself so weak, as scarcely to be able to support myself without aid. Some of the party whom we had joined, now came to say, that in consequence of a dispute between the principal owner of the merchandize, and the chief muleteer of the caravan, it was likely that those remaining behind at Hamadan, would be detained there for three or four days longer; and that their companions here could not proceed without them. My Dervish and the Fakeer, who were both much more alarmed at my illness than myself, urged me by all means to await here the result of their joining us, that I might in the mean time assist my recovery by repose. As they spoke, however, of a station only two hours distant, and as the weather was fine, after the rain of yesterday, I preferred proceeding, if possible, even alone, in order to be gaining something, however little, on our way; as well as to try what the change of air and water might effect.

Tafreejan and Yalpan are nearly equal in size, and the population of each is less than a thousand persons; though their appearance would induce a stranger to make a larger estimate. As building land is of no value, every house occupies a large space in its courts, its stables, its gardens, &c. The buildings are mostly of mud; but better wrought, and neater and cleaner, than Arab dwellings of people of the same class. The inhabitants are all ill-dressed, and are also an ill-looking people. The language spoken among themselves is a corrupt Turkish, which my Dervish understood, and Persian is only used by them to strangers. They are here, as in many other of the villages through which we passed, such expert thieves, that a large copper washing jug, called Ibreah, with an iron hook and chain, and three or four smaller articles, were stolen from beneath our heads as we slept, in the cavern before described, without either of us being at all disturbed by the robbery.

We quitted Yalpan about ten o'clock, and went slowly on to

the south-east, for I was now so weak, that the gentlest motion of the horse was painful to me. Our road was still over barren hills of blue slate, and generally uncultivated ground; when after a tedious ride of three hours, in which we had scarcely gone more than six miles, we reached the village of Alfraoun.

We alighted here at the house of a man known to the Fakeer, and were treated with great civility. In the room where we were received, two of his daughters were employed in making a carpet for sale. The woof was formed by two layers of coarse twine, about a quarter of an inch between the cords of each; the upper layer having its cords falling into the intervals of the lower, so that the space was reduced to half. Large balls of coloured worsted were hung on a frame close by. The cords of the woof were stretched by two horizontal bars, one above, and the other below, and the carpet itself was worked from the bottom upward. The girls sat before it, and beginning each toward their respective side, approached, until they met each other in the centre. The whole process consisted in taking into the fingers two or three threads of worsted, of the colours suggested by the fancy of the workers, passing them underneath a cord of the woof, twisting them a little by the hand, to secure them in their places, and then cutting off the ends with a knife, leaving a length of perhaps half an inch from the bottom of the woof to the surface of the carpet.

I continued still exceedingly ill; my fever was somewhat abated at night, but I had yet no appetite, and was as weak as an infant.

SEPT. 26th. — We had been put to sleep by the Fakeer's friend, in the stall, with all his live stock, consisting of three or four cows, as many asses, and a large family of poultry. The air of such a place, when the door was closed, which the owner himself did, after we had retired, to keep his animals in safety, was not of the purest kind; nor was there a window, or a vent-hole of any description to relieve us. As our own horses were

obliged to stand out, we found in the morning that the friend of the Fakeer had appropriated almost all their corn to his own use, for he had taken their bags from them after we had retired; and as we were up early, he had not yet returned them to their original place. A few other articles were stolen from us by this host, in the confidence of friendship, which we could not recover.

For the last three days I had tasted only toasted bread and water. I felt now some little appetite, and as there was nothing simpler to be had here, I took a little warm milk and water, with a little bread in it, which increased my strength.

We quitted Alfraoun, which in size and population resembles the two former villages, about eight o'clock, and went about east-south-east over cultivated ground, and a generally descending level. In an hour we came to a very small place, with a few gardens, called Kalajek, where the people also spoke Turkish. We could now see that Alfraoun was seated at the entrance of a fine plain, having on the east and north-east three or four large villages in sight, whose names we could not learn.

From hence in two hours more, sometimes over bare, and sometimes over cultivated ground, we reached the village of Kerdakhourd, where I found it necessary to alight, as I was too weak to proceed further.

We had thus been three days performing one stage of seven hours, chiefly from my weak state, which incapacitated me from proceeding further, or faster, than we had done. My companions attributed this, with every other lesser evil, to the influence of some malicious enemy, who followed our steps with ill-wishes. It was in the confidence of this being the cause, that the Fakeer deposited in two newly made graves, which we had passed on the high road between Kalajek and Kerdakhourd, a few rags from off his clothes, to allay the spirit of the enemy who was thought to persecute us. On enquiring whose ashes these graves contained, we were told that a pious and upright Moslem of Hamadan had

lately seen the shade of a former friend in a dream, who had desired him, if he feared God, and wished to be esteemed of men, to go to the lonely spot which he named, and erect there two decent tombs, as the bodies of two devout men lay murdered there, and their souls could not have rest until the rites of sepulture were given them. This was an affair of a few weeks back only; and while the story gave strength to the belief of an evil influence being exercised against us, the Fakeer having placed some of his rags on the grave was thought sufficient to do away the charm, so that the rest of our way was promised us to be more auspicious.

Kerdakhourd offered nothing of novelty in its appearance, being a widely spread village of mud-dwellings, with many gardens, poplar trees, bad water, and abundance of good grapes. Our accommodation there was as humble as before, partaking of the same stalls with our animals.

SEPT. 27th.—We set out from our station with the rising sun, as I had slept well, and felt much stronger than on the preceding day. The morning was cold, however, to a most painful degree, and though my legs were bound round with thick and coarse woollen in several folds, and I was warmly clad above, with two large cloaks over all, it was nevertheless not until the sun had risen three full hours, that the temperature of the air would admit of my throwing off one of these heavy garments. My companions, too, were muffled up in bags and carpets, and seemed to suffer still more from the cold than myself.

Soon after our departure, we could perceive that Kerdakhourd was seated at the commencement of an extensive plain, running to the south-east, between two high ranges of blue slate hills, watered by a small stream in its centre, and studded with numerous villages. The whole of this tract is called Melyer, and is generally well-cultivated, and well peopled throughout its whole extent, which is about twenty miles long, and seven or eight broad.

In two hours after our leaving Kerdakhourd, we had opposite

to us, on the left of our road, and distant two or three miles, a large castle, seated high on an artificial mound, and now containing within it a peopled village. It is called Khallet Mohammed Bek-Tahavildar, and is probably a modern work, though we could obtain no accurate information as to its age.

There were a number of villages distinguishable from afar, by their gardens and poplar trees, and some even near the road, but of these we learned only the name of one on the right, called Nazijan, which we passed about two hours after being opposite to the castle before named.

The stream, which ran through the centre of the plain, flowed to the north-west, so that we were again raising our level. Its waters were highly transparent, but its bed was choked by long grassy weeds, and the water itself exceedingly bitter and disagreeable to the taste.

About noon we entered the large village of Kherdoo, which is the usual halt of caravans; but as the next stage was said to be only four hours, and I had continued to gain strength, and to lose my fever as we went along, we made only an halt of an hour here to repose a little, and then pushed on to regain our lost time.

At Kherdoo the stream is larger than before, but its waters were still of a bad taste. We noted at this place a rude bridge formed of the trunks of poplars, supported by upright posts. Separate portions of the town are enclosed by walls, and the houses are large enough to contain all the conveniences which the people desire.

From Kherdoo we set out again before El Assr, and going still east by south along the plain, with the stream of water on our right, we passed, in about two hours, a large village seated amidst gardens, but as it lay a little off the main road, we did not learn its name. The district from here onward is called Charrah.

Two other hours on the same course brought us to Giaour-

Se, a name given to a cluster of villages with their fields and gardens, in one of which we noted an old high mound that had probably been the site of some ancient castle, and originally given the place its present name. We found the people here more than usually inquisitive, and far more impertinent in their replies than we had yet experienced on the road. A small caravan of Zuwars, or Pilgrims, going to the tombs of Imam Ali, and Imam Hussein, had halted here on their way from Kashan, from which they had been six days on their journey, and they made to us the same complaint of the unusual incivility of the people of Giaour-Se.

In the course of the day, though travelling through a plain covered with excellent soil, abounding in villages, population, and cattle, we had met not less than fifty families, in different parties, emigrating from their homes, on account of want, and going towards Hamadan and Kermanshah to seek a subsistence. Some of these were in a state of great apparent wretchedness, and among them were little naked infants of three or four years old, walking along, barefoot with the rest, on a stony road. The cooking utensils and bedding, which comprised all their moveables, were divided among the members of the family, while the husband and the wife carried each a young child or two at their backs. From general report it appeared, that for the last three years there had been a deficiency of rain in this part of Persia, called Irak-Ajam, extending from Ispahan to Kermanshah; and that in the central part of this space, about Goolpyegan, there had been absolutely none; so that all the productions of the earth had been retarded, and every necessary of life was at a price beyond the reach of the poor. The parched and dry state of the soil in the parts we had traversed had been constantly remarked by us, as well as the anxiety with which the peasants looked towards the approaching season of the rains. The flocks had not diminished, as they had found sufficient browzing on the mountains, nor were the fruits deficient, as the gardens were all

watered by little rivulets; but still no supplies of water could be drawn for their agriculture. Grain was now more than tenfold the price it bore three years since; about a pound and a quarter English of wheat costing half a rupee, or fifteen-pence sterling! We ourselves felt the daily expenditure for our horses and our own food to be increasingly heavy; as from Bagdad to Kermanshah, four rupees a day covered all our expenses; from thence to Hamadan, with an additional horse and man, seven rupees were barely sufficient; and now we found less than half a rupee to remain out of ten, which had been set apart for the service of the day. The larger portion of this money was required for corn and bread: for besides this, a little fruit through the day, and some boiled rice and butter, or rice and milk, at sunset, satisfied all our wants. We were thus expending nearly as much money as the same number of persons might travel comfortably for in England, and had not more than the barest necessaries to sustain life for such a sum.

Sept. 28th.—We quitted Giaour-Se, muffled up in bags and blankets, to protect ourselves against the cold, and envied the peasants their warm sheep-skin coats and jackets, without being able to purchase one, as my purse seemed likely to be emptied, by the demand on it for food, long before we should reach our journey's end, even with the most rigid economy. Our course from hence lay nearly south, through a continuation of the same plain as we had passed over yesterday, watered by the same stream coming from the southward, and equally abounding in good soil, many villages, and verdant gardens. The high blue slate mountains on each side of us began now to approach each other, so that the plain was growing progressively narrower; and after going about four hours south, we came to its termination, which was formed by the ends of the two lines of hills meeting each other in a semicircle.

From hence we went up east over a steep but low hill, which forms the pass into another plain, and terminates the district of

Tcharrah. From the top of this hill, we went down about east-south-east, over a gentle slope; and following the winding of the road to south-east and south, we came, in about two hours more, to the village of Kuddumgah, where we alighted.

The plain, in which this is seated, is nearly of a circular form, and from seven to eight miles in diameter, surrounded generally by mountains of slate, from one thousand to fifteen hundred feet in elevation from their base, and some of the highest summits perhaps two thousand. In the plain are eight or ten large villages, with gardens, the names of which we did not learn, but Kuddumgah is the only one that falls in the line of the public road. There is here a stream of less bitter water than we had drunk for many days past, and some few hovels near it for the shelter of passengers, but of the most humble kind.

SEPT. 29th.—It had frozen hard during the night, and we had found it necessary to keep up a blazing fire for ourselves and horses, who felt equally with us the unexpected severity of the weather. We therefore suffered the sun to be a full hour high before we departed, and even then we shrunk within our cloaks for warmth.

On leaving Kuddumgah, we went up east-south-east over the side of a sloping land, having high hills near us on our left, and many villages and gardens in the plain on our right. After travelling for three hours on this course, we reached the large village of Hufta, whose dwellings are secured within a castellated enclosure of a better kind than any we had yet seen, and whose gardens are more extensive and more productive than most others which we had passed. It is here that the road from Kermanshah and Hamadan to Ispahan joins, and continues the same all the way beyond this. As we met here a caravan from the last place, making its halt, we stayed to exchange the news of the way, and in the mean time regaled ourselves from the gardens of Hufta with some of the finest-flavoured peaches that we had yet found in all Persia.

From hence we turned up to a broad pass between two hills, keeping south-easterly for three hours more, over a constant but slow ascent. On each side of us, at the distance of only two or three miles, were mountains of blue slate, some of them two hundred feet high, and, like all the rest we had yet seen, entirely destitute of wood. The soil was here of richer quality than before; and through our whole ride of three hours, we found the peasants employed in ploughing with oxen in pairs, hoeing weeds by a hoe similar to our own, and scattering the seed by hand, without afterwards harrowing it into the earth, by which means flocks of wild pigeons, as in Egypt and Syria, robbed the husbandman of half his labours.

After passing a small cluster of huts with little water and no gardens, called Allimabad, we came, in half an hour more, to the poor village of Koramabad, where we halted for the night.

From the hill which terminates the district of Tcharrah to this place, the whole of the territory is called Kezzaz, and here this district ends.

SEPT. 30th.—This small village of Koramabad, which consists of about thirty or forty huts, was so destitute of every thing but bread and water, that we were compelled to make this our only fare. A vigilant look-out was necessary also to prevent the pilfering of the inhabitants, as they made two or three silent attempts to steal in upon us unobserved during the night, but without succeeding.

We quitted this place soon after sunrise, and going up south-east by south, over a continuation of the ascent of yesterday, with hills close to us on each side, we soon opened the view of a wide plain, terminated by distant mountains, and entered into the district of Kemmera. We still met several troops of families removing to the westward, in consequence of scarcity, as well as parties both of the living and the dead, on their way to the tomb of Imam Ali, at Kerbela.

From the top of the slope, which extended nearly an hour's

journey beyond Koramabad, we began to descend, coming in half an hour to the small village of Saaky Sookhta, which consisted of a few huts, enclosed by a mud wall.

About an hour beyond this, we had opposite to us, on the right, a neat little village, called Chartack, seated at the foot of the hills, at the distance of a mile from the high road, and inhabited by Christians, of the Armenian sect; though, in all other respects, of dress, language, manners, &c. they were the same as their Moslem neighbours.

Our course now became south-east, over a good road, with cultivated land on each side of us; and here we were accosted by three men looking out from a pit, over which a ragged piece of tent-cloth was raised. They demanded of us a toll, saying they were stationed there by the Government to keep the road clear of robbers, showing us their muskets at the same time; but as we suspected that they were themselves bad characters, using this plea as a decoy, we answered their demand in a tone of defiance, and continued steadily on our way.

It was nearly three hours from hence, and after we had passed several distant villages on our right, that we halted to drink at a small place called Elia-abad, peopled by Armenian Christians. Though the rains had failed here, as well as in all the other parts of the country, the industrious population had distributed the water of several little rivulets among their grounds; and we saw, for the first time, the young corn of the second crop above ground, the soil being laid out in oblong beds, with bordering ridges to confine the water on them, as in garden lands.

From hence, in about an hour and a half, we passed through a ruined village, in which was a saint's tomb. The place was called Mohammedabad, but not more than twenty of its dwellings were inhabited. In less than two hours more, on a winding course of from east to south-east, we entered Khomein, where we made our halt at a khan, as incommodious as most of the smaller ones stationed in the way. Through the latter part of our ride there had

been a visible improvement in the state of agriculture and general industry, resulting from the greater activity of the people alone as the soil was the same, and the water not more abundant than before. In the neighbourhood of Khomein, which was a large village seated amidst gardens, we saw ploughed land sown with grain and smoothly harrowed, extensive fields of cotton, and portions of the soil appropriated to other productions.

The village of Khomein occupies a great extent of ground, though its population does not much exceed two thousand souls. The Sheik, or civil governor, for there are no military in any of these villages, has a large and good house, with gardens attached to it. There were in this man's service three Russians, who had been taken prisoners in the last war; and, with a number of others, were then distributed over different parts of the country, to prevent their being an expense to the state. Two of these young men, calling at the khan to know what strangers had arrived, soon became on an intimate footing with Ismael, to whom they told their story. They wore the Persian dress, spoke the Persian language, and expressed no dissatisfaction at their present state, or a wish to return home; though we, as Arabs, sympathized with them sufficiently to induce such a confession, if the feeling itself existed. These young men were both shaved, and wore mustachios:—so general is the wearing of the beard among all classes of Persians, that these were the only two persons we had noted without that appendage since our entering the country.

Oct. 1st.—On leaving Khomein, we went up south-east by south over a steep hill; and continued ascending for three full hours, before we gained the summit of the range over which we had to pass. We watered our horses near the top, and met at the spring there a numerous troop of Persian horse-soldiers, from the district of Bactiar, on the west of Goolpyegan, two days' journeys, and in the mountains of Lauristan. They were leaving the service of different chiefs there, and going to seek new employment under the Shah Zadé at Melyer, and his brother the prince, at Kermanshah.

At the top of the dividing range of hills, the district of Kemmera ends, and that of Goolpyegan begins, its fine plain, covered with dwellings and gardens, being now full in view before us. About half-way down the hill, we passed a ruined enclosure of buildings, where there are stationed some agents of the Government, to collect the dues on merchandise passing this way, who suffered us to proceed in peace, as we were but lightly laden. On entering the plain, and still keeping the same course, we crossed the gravelly bed of a stream, now dry, by a lofty bridge of three arches. In the spring, a large body of water comes from a mountain called Badian, a few hours to the south-west of this, and fills this bed, going north-east through the plain, and bearing the name of the mountain in which it has its source.

Soon after noon we entered the town of Goolpyegan, having been travelling for about six hours on a course of south-east by south; and from the nature of our road, which was almost all mountainous, we had gone perhaps a distance, in a straight line, of from twelve to fifteen miles. The chief peculiarities which struck us, on our approach to the town, were two tolerable domes, and a solitary minaret, in different parts of it; but this last, poor as it was, was the more remarkable, as it was the only one we had yet seen in Persia.

The history of Goolpyegan, as related to us by one of the Mollahs, who came to bid us the "Kosh Amadeed," or welcome, in our khan, was thus detailed. In the days of the Prophet, there was a large city here called Nussway, whose inhabitants were all worshippers of fire. Imam Ali, and his son Hassan, marching against it, took the place of the infidels by the edge of the sword. As the city, though already a celebrated one, was still rising in extent and consequence, a great part of its population was employed in making bricks and mortar, and erecting edifices; but such was the consternation occasioned by the approach of the victorious Imam and his son, that the labourers fled in all directions, without staying to wash away the dirt accumulated in

their labours. It was to commemorate this instantaneous flight, we were told, that the old name of Nussway was changed to the present name of Goolpyegan, or Gelpyegan, which, in old Persian, is significant of the event described:—*Gel*, being the name of mortar; *pye*, the name of the feet; and *gan*, the completion of the compound; which, taken altogether, means "fled away, with the mortar still unwashed from them."

In our passage through this town, I noticed several large blocks of blue stone, with Arabic and Persian inscriptions on them, in characters of a very old form, now broken and scattered about; and near the khan in which we lodged, were two rude statues, apparently intended for lions, as large as life, but of the worst possible execution. Goolpyegan, for such is the most general way in which the name of the place is pronounced, contains at present about two thousand dwellings, and from five to six thousand inhabitants. The people are all Sheeah Moslems, and there are neither Jews nor Christians resident among them. Here are three poor mosques, a small and dirty bath, five khans, and several long ranges of covered streets where the bazaars are held, and the chief trades carried on. A manufacture of coarse cotton cloth and thread also exists here; but no other articles are produced, except for the immediate supply of the town itself. The markets are tolerably well furnished with the necessaries of life at a cheap rate; but the people are in general extremely poor, and their town is of a corresponding appearance.

Oct. 2nd.—We had been stared at by visitors, and questioned and cross-examined as much as if we had been a Chinese party, instead of persons believed to be Arabs. The chief cause of this appeared to be, our having the hardihood to travel alone, and not putting ourselves under the protection of a caravan. It was sufficiently adventurous, they thought, for people of the country to move from one village to another alone; but no Persian in his senses would go further. To see, therefore, three perfect strangers wandering on by themselves, over such a tract of country, and in

such times as these, excited a suspicion, either that our minds were not perfectly right, or that our motives and intentions in travelling, were not strictly pure. We answered all their enquiries with great patience and civility, though the most common ones, of "Where are you from? whither are you going?" were asked us so frequently, and by such insignificant persons, that it became insufferably tedious. It was in a fit of despair produced by this annoyance, that, thinking of Dr. Franklin's expedient in a nearly similar case, I commanded Ismael to stand up, in front of our recess in the khan, and proclaim with a loud voice what I should prompt to him. He accordingly began:—

"He that hath ears to hear, let him hear! Now, be it known unto you, O brethren and fellow men, that the Hadjee Abdallah-ibn-Suliman-el-Masri, the Dervish Ismael, his companion, and the Fakeer Zein-el-Abedeen, their servant, are, all three, true and upright Moslem worshippers of one indivisible God, admitting neither partner nor companion;—for God is great; there is no other God but God; and Mohammed is the Apostle of God! I say again unto you, O ye worshippers in the same faith, that we three, by name repeated, come from Bagdad, and are going to Ispahan, on business which the Lord best knoweth. Praised for ever be his name! We worship no false gods; we bear no enmity to the ruling powers; and we are at peace with all mankind. In the name of God, the Great and the Merciful, and truly for the sake of him, suffer us then to repose in peace! This is all which we can declare of ourselves. Go ye forth, therefore, and declare it to the world; but, since we owe nothing to any man, and desire only peace, ask henceforth no more of us, for more cannot be revealed."

The effect which this harangue produced was that of shame in some, and wonder in others; and while more than one voice exclaimed, "The men are possessed of devils, and are mad;" others replied, in my hearing, "Then it is a very sensible madness; for, in truth, what have ye to do with them?" After this the crowd gradually dispersed.

CHAPTER XI.

FROM GOOLPYEGAN, BY RHAMATABAD, DEHUCK AND CHAL-SEEAH, TO ISPAHAN.

The sun had risen before we quitted Goolpyegan, which we did with a large train of boys at our heels, paying us the honours shown to all curious strangers, by the villagers of every country. Our course was now nearly south-east; and on crossing the plain in which this town is seated, we noted three large villages, all within the space of two or three miles, on our left, to the north-east of it. They were called, severally, Khallah Meean, Khallah Baula, and Dey Koocheck; each having many gardens, and each being enclosed by mud walls, with bastions at the angles.

In about an hour and half after our leaving Goolpyegan, we had opposite to us, on the left of our road, a small village called

Sefeeabad, and in another hour we entered the town of Waneshoon. This was seated in a valley, with a lofty hill hanging over it on the west. It contained about eight hundred houses, many gardens, and a mosque, with an octagonal and conical dome rising from the centre. The exterior of this had been once ornamented with coloured tiles, chiefly blue; but the outer coating having fallen gradually to decay, there remained only the interior brick-work with a few patches of the tiles on it.

In two hours and a half from hence, on the same course, we passed a small village on the left, called Khompeach; and in three hours more, going always over a monotonous road of bare slate rock and barren soil, we made our halt at Rahmatabad, leaving the more commonly frequented station of Door, in a valley to the north-north-east of us, distant about four miles.

This village of Rahmatabad was said to have been originally a stronghold of demons, who fled hither when they were driven out of such human bodies as they had haunted. The present inhabitants were happy, however, in the belief that those evil days were now passed, and that Imam Ali had effectually purged the place of all its former impurities. This saint is in such high repute among the people of this country, that instead of the common exclamation of the Turks and Arabs: 'Ya Ullah!' 'O God!' that of the Persians is uniformly 'Ya Ali!' 'O Ali!' an expression of continual occurrence.

The village of Rahmatabad is small, entirely without gardens, and has only a small portion of cultivated land near it, though its water was the best we had drunk for some time. The houses, which are not more than a hundred in number, rise above each other around a steep-pointed hill; and the whole aspect of the place is as dreary and miserable as possible.

My Dervish was here taken seriously ill, having a violent fever, with all its usual accompaniments; and free as he was from most of the superstitious notions of his countrymen, yet he firmly believed in the existence of an intermediate race of genii

both good and bad. It was curious to observe this man, when praying, as he sometimes did, for the sake of preserving our reputation; for though it was clear that he had no firm belief in the religion in which he had been brought up, yet he always saluted his guardian angels, over his shoulder, (which is a part of the ceremony of Mohammedan devotion,) with the greatest respect, and firmly believed that they had a share in all the good or evil that befel him. It was thus that he roused me from a sound sleep before midnight, to tell me of a demon having distorted his limbs, and placed him in such a position that he could not himself distinguish his hands from his feet. It was in vain I assured him that these were among the common symptoms of fever, and that they arose from the disordered state of his blood. He disbelieved all I said, but gave full credit to what had been told him of Rahmatabad having been originally a seat of demons, and insisted that it was one of these who had twisted his limbs into such indescribable postures during the early part of the night.

After this, no sleep was obtained by any of our party. A large fire was kindled, and we waited patiently for daylight, as we all dreaded the cold too much to venture out before sunrise.

Oct. 3rd.—When the day was broadly opened, we knocked out the ashes from our pipes, and put a stop to the long stories that we had each been telling in his turn, over the blazing fire around which we sat; and in half an hour after the sun was up, we were again on our way.

Our course lay about south-east by east, over a desert and rocky road, until in about two hours we came to the village of Dumboo, where we watered our horses at a large pond in the middle of the town, and alighted ourselves to drink. The place was small, poor, and without gardens; but about a mile or two to the westward of it, at the foot of the hills, there was a larger village, called Eshen, seated among cultivation and trees.

Two hours from hence, on a south-east course, brought us

to a small square enclosure of dwellings, with a large walled garden near, called Kaloo; and an hour beyond that, on a more easterly course, brought us to a similar place, with a few poplar trees, called Ali-abad.

Half an hour after this, we passed to the south of a long valley, with many gardens; and in less than an hour more, on the same course, we arrived at Dehuck, where we alighted at the common caravansera.

Our journey throughout the day had been over a bare road of desert soil, with patches of brown slate-rock. The plain around us in every direction was entirely waste, and the horizon every where intercepted by broken and woodless hills. The scenery, on the whole, resembled many parts of the coast of Arabia, on the eastern shore of the Red Sea; and the resemblance was rendered the more striking, by our feeling the want of water here, and seeing many herds of gazelles: both of these peculiarities occurring now for the first time since our being in Persia.

Just before entering Dehuck, we were met by a green-turbaned Seid, on horseback, armed with a lance, who stopped us to enquire the news from Imam Hassan. This man was employed on the holy errand of going round to all the villages in this quarter, stating his intention to set out, on a fixed day, as chief of the Zuwars, or Pilgrims, and inviting all who respect the memory of the Imam, to follow him to his tomb. A certain tribute is exacted, for the supposed protection, for it is not real, which this chief of the Zuwars affords; so that, by the journey, he gains from three hundred to four hundred rupees, and has his expenses paid; while to the pilgrims, whom he leads, it is all expenditure and loss.

These chiefs of the Zuwars are the only persons who commonly carry spears, or lances, in this part of Persia; and as mine was sufficiently long to attract the notice of most of the peasants as we passed, I had several times been taken for one of these chiefs,

and was more particularly so in the present instance, by the Seid himself, who asked me of how many my party originally consisted? and what was about the rough amount of my gains? to both of which I gave but unsatisfactory answers.

At many of the villages in our route from Kermanshah thus far, we had seen stone doors used in the garden walls—being large slabs of blue slate, of which all the hills between Hamadan and this are composed;—so placed, as to turn on a pivot, of a piece with itself, and bolted on the inside by thrusting the hand in through a large hole. Here, however, at Dehuck, we saw these stone doors used in the dwellings of the people, some of them of a considerable size, and one of them with the words 'Ya Ali' deeply cut in good Arabic characters. The largest of these doors was one now lying disused, before the entrance to a mosque, to which it might once have belonged. This was nearly six feet square, and six inches thick, in one smooth, solid, and unfractured piece. The common size of those now hung here was larger than of these seen in the Hauran, and at the Tombs of Oom Kais, in Syria; but they were not in general so thick: none of them were well-finished, or ornamented like the former; but they were hung and closed in exactly the same way. The scarcity of wood had in both instances been, no doubt, the principal cause of their use; though here, security was certainly an additional motive, as there were now existing many new as well as old wooden doors, and a sufficient number of poplar trees to furnish the materials for many more.

Dehuck is seated in a dreary and narrow valley, between bare rocky hills. The little cultivatable land about it is better managed than is usual in this country. We saw here, ploughing, harrowing, dressing with manure, turning up with the spade and hoe, and other operations of husbandry, performed as well as in Europe. The town contains a population of about three thousand inhabitants, all Mohammedans of the Sheeah sect. It has a mosque, and a small market-place; but all the necessaries of life

were still dearer than we had found them at any other place before on our way.

Oct. 4th.—We met here a party of horsemen, conveying from Kezzaz to Ispahan a very fine lad of distinction, who was going to meet his father at that city; and, wishing to profit by their company, we set out with them soon after midnight.

Our course was about south-east by east, over a barren tract of land; and in little more than an hour, we passed by the large village of El Hhussny, where, as well as at Door, a station we had seen from Rahmatabad, there is a large khan, like those between Bagdad and Kermanshah, but now falling to ruins for want of repair.

We continued on our way until daylight, when we alighted for prayer,—a ceremony, the public performance of which is deemed indispensable when others are present, though few, even among the Mohammedans, are so punctual in observing it when quite alone.

Our road continued to lie over a barren waste, with blue slate hills on each side, and was mostly on the same course, until we reached a large public khan at the station of Chal Seeah, where we alighted. This was one of the best buildings of the kind that we had yet seen, and was still in excellent order, though the situation in which it stands is a very dreary one, and the small village attached to it consists only of a few huts. The distance from Dehuck to this place is accounted eight fursucks, and we had performed it in about eight hours. We had gone, however, at the rate of about five miles an hour, or considerably faster than the common walking-pace of a man; all our company being lightly mounted, and our horses walking briskly in company. In every other instance in which the number of fursucks from station to station was known, we had never gone at the full rate of a fursuck per hour, though our pace was never less than four English miles. It is true that, among the people of the country themselves, the distances from place to place are very

differently stated, according to the time which they may have themselves employed in performing it, as well as that there are no public marks or posts by which the real extent of the fursuck can be determined; but all confess that caravans even of mules and asses do not go a fursuck per hour, and that it requires a brisk walking-pace of a light horseman to accomplish it; so that the Persian fursuck is certainly greater than the English league, and equal, I should conceive, to four English miles at least.

We saw no cultivation during all our last day's route: nothing but barren plains, and rugged hills and mountains bounding them in every direction, without a tree or a bush of any description. We had no water throughout all the way, not even so much as a small pool or rill; and both the wells of the station we had last quitted, and of that to which we had just arrived, were brackish and disagreeable in the extreme. The scarcity and bad quality of the water, all the way from Kermanshah to this place, had been often felt by us; the latter indeed was a serious evil, as it materially affected our health, since we had no other beverage, and neither coffee nor any other corrective, except now and then a little burnt bread to use in it. The water of the Kara Soo is so superior to all others of which we had yet tasted in Persia, that it was easy to conceive why the ancient monarchs of the country gave to the Choaspes the distinguished preference which they did, in carrying its water with them even on their distant expeditions.

Oct. 5th.—The young lad, with whose party we had come the last day's stage, had evidently been brought up with extraordinary tenderness, and was treated with corresponding respect by his servants, who gratified all his momentary whims without a murmur. He was now so fatigued by a journey of two or three days, though he rode upon a pillowed saddle, that he was unable to go further without a day's halt. As he professed himself to be extremely pleased with our company, and was charmed beyond description by the long stories with which I amused him on the road, re-

specting the Infidels in India, where I professed to have been, he begged of us to retard our journey a day for his sake, and promised to take me to his father, who was a great man at Ispahan, and who, he was sure, would be delighted at the friendship his son had formed for me: on which ground he insisted upon my becoming his guest, and remaining with him for a month or two at least. I urged the importance of my getting to Bushire within a stated time, as the route from thence further on was by sea; at which the youth expressed great alarm, and entreated me, for his sake, as well as that of my father and mother, never to trust myself upon so dangerous an element. He told me the name of his father, Assad Ullah Khan, with the place of his residence in Ispahan; begging me not to omit calling to see him on the morrow, when he hoped to arrive after us, as the first thing he should have to tell his father would be of the kind-hearted Hadjee from Egypt, whom he had met on the road. I promised him to do this, though, at the time, without the intention of keeping my word, as it would lead perhaps to a train of circumstances which might much embarrass me; and, whether there was any thing in my looks or behaviour at the moment, which betrayed my disposition or not, the youth suspected that I was promising what I should not perform, and absolutely wept at our parting, saying, it was more than likely that I should never think of him again. I was not quite unmoved at this unaccountable degree of sensibility towards so perfect a stranger as myself, and knew not what construction I ought to place on such an incident, or how I ought to act on such an occasion. The Dervish Ismael, as well as the Fakeer Żein-el-Abedeen, my constant companions, were however still more affected than myself; and as to the former, his sympathies and recollections were so powerfully called forth, that he was moved even to tears, and exclaimed—'Every word from his divine lips was like a dagger in my heart.'

This was a moonlight scene, soon after midnight,—the hour which we had fixed for setting out; and though I sang some

fragments of Arab songs by the way, and was as light-hearted and disposed to talk as usual, yet I could scarcely get a word from either of my musing companions.

We went from the khan of Chal Seeah in a south-east by east direction, along a barren road, having a wide plain on our left, bounded by a distant and even range of mountains, faintly seen by the light of the moon; and on our right, a succession of steep, ragged, and detached slate hills, following each other close to, and in the direction of the road. We neither saw a dwelling, nor heard the sound of any living being for nearly five hours, when we passed on our left the little village of Noushirwan, with an apparently new and exceedingly neat khan. From hence we came on cultivated ground, with water and trees, and the day promised to exhibit to us an improved scenery. The opening of the morning was one of the most beautiful I ever remember to have witnessed; while the pale blue light of the moon was yet visible in the west, after her sinking below the horizon, the eastern sky was already warmed with the young pink blush of the sun's approach, at the same time that the zenith showed a deep azure canopy, studded with the brilliant retinue of the Pleiades, Aldebaran, Orion's Belt, and Jupiter, in one lengthened train, beaming in full meridian splendour.

We had now on each side of our road corn-fields of the third crop during the present year; some in all the fresh green of early spring, and others in the mellower maturity of autumn, with gardens and trees in great variety and abundance, all watered by numerous canals leading in every direction.

The ruined outskirts of Ispahan already began to appear, and presented a melancholy picture of desertion and devastation. Long streets, and large buildings, the interior of which preserved all their original freshness, some indeed seeming to have been scarcely ever inhabited, were now abandoned to utter desolation, and were the haunts only of the solitary raven.

We went for nearly two hours through a succession of this

ruined scenery, which could not be witnessed without exciting the most powerful emotions of melancholy. The rising sun presented us, however, a fine and extensive landscape, as its rays gilded the enchanting picture of the plain of Ispahan, with its mountain boundaries, and the world of interesting objects which they enclosed, thus powerfully contrasting the permanent beauties of nature with the more unstable works of man.

Among the peculiar objects which attracted my notice were a number of large circular towers, sloping a little upwards from the base, and finished with ornamented tops, in a style very different from Saracen works, rising in the centre of gardens, and seeming like so many castles. These, I learnt, were edifices erected for the resort of pigeons, who were suffered to feed on the grain, the melons, and the fruits in the neighbourhood, and retire to these towers to roost. The interior of these buildings, as I myself saw, contained some hundreds of separate cells for the birds; and I was assured that they were cleaned out every ten or twelve days, and the dirt carefully preserved as manure for particular fruits, when the fattest of the birds were taken away for sale, the eggs and young carefully attended to, and the whole managed with great punctuality and skill. These establishments are all private property, and belong to the owners of the grounds near; and the occupation is found to be an exceedingly lucrative one, though there are a great number of these establishments in the neighbourhood of each other.

We found the road near the city covered with asses, which were laden with the dirt of the highway, gathered up by scavengers for the use of the gardens near, so that manure is of more than usual value here; and indeed, where three crops of grain are grown yearly—a succession of spring, summer, autumn, and winter fruits kept up—and where the pasture of flocks is so well attended to, that they bring forth their young twice in the year, and produce milk, butter, and cheese, at all seasons—a constant supply of manure and water must be indispensable.

The gate by which we entered the present restricted city of Ispahan was of very mean appearance, exceedingly small, and its passage obstructed by trains of camels of nearly the same kind and size as the Arabian ones. There was also great poverty in the aspect of the few first streets through which we passed, though the space of wall between the shops was whitewashed, and painted with the most grotesque figures — in combat, in the chase, at athletic games, &c.—all very gaudily coloured and badly drawn. After a few winding passages, we came at length to some noble ranges of bazaars, wider, more lofty, and better lighted than any similar places that I had seen, and where the shops were larger and better furnished than those either of Cairo or Damascus.

We met here a funeral procession, which was not of the ordinary Moslem appearance; and indeed I at first thought it to have been a Christian one, until assured of the contrary. In front of the train came eight or ten persons bearing particoloured flags over their shoulders, and chanting hymns; next followed an equal number carrying large wax tapers lighted; and to these succeeded the corpse, borne in a close palanquin, with double poles, or shafts, on the shoulders of men. The friends of the deceased followed this in pairs; and a crowd of spectators of both sexes closed the procession. These rites are peculiar to the Sheeahs, and are held in abomination by the Soonnees; though they are sometimes, as I was told, practised at Imam Moosa, and other Persian quarters of Bagdad, where the Sheeahs are in sufficient numbers to defend themselves from the insults of their Soonnee masters, if they should be attacked.

We found, after some enquiry, a halt of comparative privacy in the khan Mohur Dar Koosh, where there were but few travellers, and these chiefly Bagdad merchants. In this we obtained an upper chamber, and soon made ourselves at ease.

Retired as we had hoped to have been, our room was soon crowded with visitors and enquirers, more particularly from those

Arab merchants, who were waiting with impatience for news from Bagdad, before they set out on their return thither. This, though a sufficient evil at a moment of great fatigue, and on the first arrival as a stranger in a large city, led to the most agreeable results. In the course of those enquiries, which we were justly entitled to make in our turn, we learnt that there was an Englishman halting here on his way to Tabreez. As soon, therefore, as our host of Persian and Arab visitors had dispersed, I dispatched a note to this gentleman, whose name I did not yet know, stating my arrival here, and desiring to learn how far it would be congenial with his own wishes to promote an interview. An answer was speedily returned, saying that Mr. Armstrong would wait upon us in person, accompanied by his friend, Assad Ullah Khan; and in less than half an hour they came, attended by a suite of servants, to visit us in our humble quarters. Mr. Armstrong was an elderly person, who had been long settled in India as a builder and general director of artificers' work, and had for the last seven years been employed by the Prince Abbas Mirza, at Tabreez, in the establishment of an arsenal there, the founding of cannon, equipping them, and setting on foot a variety of useful works of a military kind. His companion, Assad Ullah Khan, the Topjee Bashee, or chief of the artillery, attached to the King's establishment at Teheraun, was the father of the young lad Mohammed Ali, whom we had met on the road, and who was in hourly expectation of the arrival of his son. Our meeting was warm and cordial; and after the first enquiries were answered, it was insisted on, that I should come and partake of their quarters, at one of the old palaces of Shah Abbas, which had been assigned to them by the Government during their stay here.

The visit of a Frank, attended by a Khan and his servant, to a humble Arab in a public caravansera, raised, as was natural, a thousand conjectures; but on its being studiously circulated that this Frank was an Englishman, who might at some former period have received attentions from the Hadjee, which he had the

gratitude to feel and repay, all contradictory opinions were reconciled, and general admiration was bestowed on so unusual a character.

It was near evening before we left our quarters at the caravansera to follow our friends to those which they had prepared for us at the palace. We were there lodged in gorgeously magnificent halls, with whole suites of rooms, gardens, and delightful walks, open to us on all sides; and the pleasure of this change was still augmented by intelligent and kind society, and the comforts of domestic life, in a very high degree.

CHAPTER XII.

ISPAHAN—EARLY SETTLEMENT OF THE JEWS—PERSIAN DRAMATIC STORY-TELLERS AND SINGERS.

During a stay of several days which we made at Ispahan, before any safe or convenient opportunity of prosecuting our journey offered itself, my whole time was passed in one unbroken succession of pleasures, during which I was so highly honoured, so constantly delighted, and, in short, so completely surrounded by gratifications of every kind, that I neither had, nor wished to have, a moment of leisure or seclusion, to note the impressions to which all this train of pleasures naturally gave rise. It was only on the day preceding our intended departure, that I was enabled to sit down for a moment to collect together the brief recollections of my stay.

Oct. 6th.—The ancient bath of the celebrated Shah Abbas the Great was prepared for us by express order from Assad Ullah Khan; and his young son, who had arrived on the preceding evening, overjoyed to find me already a guest of his father's, joined our party there. All strangers were excluded; the cisterns were filled with clean water, the bath had been well washed and highly heated, and great pains had been taken to render it as perfect as the fashion of Persia would admit. The style of this bath, which formed a part of the palace in which we lived, and was included within its walls, was similar to the one before described at Kermanshah, except that it was larger, and more richly ornamented. The same general cleanliness in the outer and inner divisions, the same arrangement of the cold fountains and hot cisterns, and the same process in the washing, &c. practised by the attendants, was seen here as at the place mentioned. The same deficiencies too were also observable: the servants of the bath knew nothing of the art of moulding the limbs and muscles; the visitor was led directly from the hot room into the cold, with no other covering than two small coarse blue-checked towels, and his feet suddenly chilled by walking on a cold stone pavement, without slippers or pattens of any kind; no bed was made for his repose on coming out; no person came to dry his body by gentle pressure, and a change of clothes, or to warm his feet by friction on the sole; and though kaleoons were served, there was neither coffee nor sherbet to recruit the exhausted fluid. All this, however, was after the best fashion of the country, and it would have been rudeness to complain. With all its defects, it was productive of welcome refreshment and pleasure after a long journey, and we were therefore content. After dressing in haste, we returned to our own apartments, where a sumptuous breakfast was prepared for us, of which we all partook.

Information of the arrival of an English traveller having been conveyed to Hadjee Mohammed Hussein Khan, the Nizam-el-Dowla, or present Governor of the city, we received from him, at

noon, a deputation, who waited on me with congratulations on my safe arrival, an offer of all the services which it was in the power of the Government to grant, and an expression of regret that a messenger had not preceded me with news of my coming, that I might have been met beyond the city by an escort, and all the proper honours due to a subject of so distinguished a nation as England. Nothing could exceed the respect which was shown me, or the politeness of the manner in which it was expressed. I was assured that but for an indisposition of the Governor, which had confined him for several weeks to his house, he would have waited on me himself in person; and I was desired therefore to consider this party, which consisted of five of the most distinguished Khans of the city, and a large retinue of servants, as a visit of the Governor himself.

I was quite at a loss to account for so much distinction being shown to a humble individual like myself, desirous too, as I was, of passing through the country unknown, and having therefore avoided every step which might draw me into notice. Mr. Armstrong, however, explained it, by saying that letters had reached both this place and Shiraz, announcing the intended visit of an English gentleman to both these cities, in the course of his journey to India, which letters, he said, came officially from the British mission at Tabreez, and requested that every attention might be paid to him. As I was personally unknown to any of the gentlemen who composed the embassy at Tabreez, and as they had described the person in question to be a traveller desirous only of amassing information, and observing the manners of the countries through which he had to pass, it appeared probable to me either that this letter of announcement had reference to some other person, or that I was indebted to Mr. Rich of Bagdad for this kind exertion to render my journey agreeable.

The remainder of the day was passed in receiving the visits of other persons of inferior importance, such as a deputation from the Armenians at Julfa, and individuals attached to the English

nation by former services or benefits; after which we dined together at a late hour, and closed a day of much pleasure.

Oct. 7th.—At the early hour of sunrise, horses were saddled for all our party; and Assad Ullah Khan, with his son and some of their friends, who were well acquainted with the principal objects of curiosity about the city, were deputed to be our companions and guides for the morning excursion. They were desirous of taking us at once to some of the splendid palaces of the ancient kings; but as all was submitted to my direction, I proposed another line of march.

Ispahan is thought by Major Rennell to be one of the places to which the Jews were carried in their first captivity, when the ten tribes were taken captive to Nineveh; for tradition says, that during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, many Jews settled in the quarter called, to the present time, 'Yahoudeeah.' Abulfeda says also, that Bochtanser, (or Nebuchadnezzar,) when he destroyed Jerusalem, sent the Jews here, who built a town which they called 'Yahoudia;' that Gajjong was the most ancient of the villages on which Ispahan was built, and that Yahoudia was built at the distance of two miles from it. Also, that though Gajjong decreased, Yahoudia flourished by the accession of Mohammedan tribes, and its name still remained.

As I was particularly desirous of making a minute investigation into the relative state of these quarters, their distance from each other, &c. as their names had been already confirmed to me by report, it was proposed that we should first direct our route to them. A world of 'wonders' was expressed at the motive which could induce a visit to such insignificant spots; and a thousand assurances were made that they contained nothing to reward the trouble of the excursion. No one dared, however, directly to object, so that my original plan was pursued.

Gajjong is the name of the ruined quarter, by which we approached Ispahan, on the day of our first entering it; and this includes all the space now covered by deserted and demolished

buildings, between the khan of Noushirwan and the present gate of the city through which we first entered. It thus lies on the north-west of the present enclosed town, and has been fully described, on our passing through it. The tradition still held by the people is, that this was the original spot on which Ispahan was founded; and that, even in the time of Shah Abbas, it was enclosed within the city walls. Of this latter fact, there is however no decided proof; on the contrary, there is much more reason to believe that it was in a deserted state, even in Abulfeda's time, and rather formed a suburb, than a quarter of the city.

Yahoudia is, as the Arabian geographer states, distant from Gajjong about two miles, and is seated in the north-east quarter of the town. It is the present residence of such Jews as are here, though a large portion of it is also inhabited by Mohammedans. The present residence of the Governor is in this quarter, called also Jubarrah; and here is seen a portion of the ancient walls of the city, with high round towers, sloping upward from their base, thickly placed, and more completely Saracenic than any similar work that I had yet observed in Persia. This quarter, which is now also in a very ruined state, contains the minarets and domes of some fine old mosques, adorned with Cufic inscriptions, in coloured tiles; a large Maidan, or public square, now nearly built all over with small dwellings, and lines of bazaars, and many other marks of former magnificence. The style of the architecture, both in the private and public dwellings, is of an older date than any thing to be seen in the other parts of Ispahan; and the traditions current among the people are, that this was a place of the Jews' settlement under Bochetenessr, (or Nebuchadnezzar,) and that it is by far the oldest part of Ispahan which is now enclosed within the city walls.

All this was extremely satisfactory, as confirming the conjecture of the able illustrator of ancient geography; but the living picture it presented us was, in another point of view, full of the most melancholy images. Nothing could exceed the misery and

degradation in which the despised Jews seemed to live here. Their habitations were of the meanest kind; and their labours, which seemed to be chiefly in spinning and weaving silk, were carried on in subterranean cells, like the Serdaubs at Moosul and Bagdad, and which are seen in no other part but this, throughout the whole of the city of Ispahan.

In Turkey, many of the Jews rise to distinguished confidence in the service of the Government, and others become reputable merchants. At Acre and Damascus there are two striking instances of the former; and in Egypt many of the latter, both living in affluence and consideration, and distinguished only from the most wealthy Moslems by a graver dress and darker turban. Here, however, and throughout all Persia, the children of Israel are looked upon as the most despicable of human beings, until they are become really debased by their debasement, and now perhaps merit, by their want of every virtue, that which was at first cast on them as an opprobrium on account of their religious distinction only.

In our return from hence, we traversed nearly the whole of the central parts of the town, coming through long lines of bazaars, wide, lofty, well-aired and lighted, and filled with excellent shops of every description. They were as much superior to those of Turkey in their construction, as the shops that composed them were larger and better filled; and all the mechanical arts, whether in metal, wood, or other materials, were more neatly, ingeniously, and durably executed.

At the close of our ride, we came out at the Maidan Shah, one of the largest public squares perhaps in the East; and more extensive than any which I remember to have seen, whether in Europe or elsewhere.* This Maidan is of an oblong form. On one side is a portion of the palace of Tamasp Shah, or, as some say, of Shah Abbas, in which we now lived, with a lofty gallery, supported by pillars, forming a sort of upper portico, on which

* It is at least four times as large as either Grosvenor Square, Russell Square, or Lincoln's Inn.

the monarchs usually sat when they received any crowded processions of embassies, &c. in the Maidan below. Opposite to this is the small but elegant mosque of Lootf Ali Shah. At the southern end is the splendid mosque of the Shah Abbas; and at the northern extremity are the remains of an establishment, founded by this same king, for the Europeans settled in the city, of whom he was a distinguished patron during his reign.

On the walls of the porch beneath this last building, where a gate leads into some large bazaars, and before which is a fountain of fine clear water, are several paintings of that king's time. Among these, the one on the right represents a European feast, in which women, wine, and music, form the prominent objects: it may be considered rather as a picture of what a Persian would conjecture an entertainment must be, where women and wine are not forbidden, than what such an entertainment ever really was among any class of Europeans, except in a brothel.

The country had now been two successive years without its accustomed supply of rain, so that the fountains and canals which usually refreshed and adorned this grand square were now mostly empty. The arched recesses going all around it, which had been formerly used as shops, and filled with the richest merchandise, were now entirely unoccupied; and the chambers of the upper gallery, above these, which had once formed the quarters of the monarch's body-guard, were now falling fast into ruin. The splendid parade of horsemen, and the train of royalty which once filled this noble space, were now replaced by a few solitary Moollahs coming and going to and from the mosques near, and some poor and ragged tents of fruit-sellers which were scattered over its surface.

It was amidst these, that a party of nearly three hundred people had collected round a professed story-teller, who, when we first saw him, was declaiming with all the dignity and warmth of the most eloquent and finished orator. We halted here without a murmur from any of our party, as they seemed to enjoy this

species of exhibition as much as Englishmen would do the pleasures of the drama. It might itself, indeed, be called a dramatic representation; for although but one person appeared on the stage, there were as great a variety of characters personated by this one, as appears in any of our best plays. The subject of his tale was from the wars of Nadir Shah, more particularly at the period that his arms were directed against Bagdad; and in it he breathed forth the haughty fury of the conquering warrior; trembled in the supplicating tone of the captive; allured by the female voice of love and desire; and dictated in the firmer strain of remonstrance and reproach. I could understand this orator but imperfectly, and was unwilling at the moment to disturb the fixed attention of my companions, by soliciting their interpretation; but, as far as gestures and attitudes were explanatory of the passions and incidents on which they were exercised, I certainly had never yet seen any thing more complete. Bursts of laughter, sensations of fear, and sighs of pity, rapidly succeeded each other in the audience, who were at some periods of the tale so silent, that the fall of a pin might have been heard. Money was thrown into the circle by those whose approbation the story-teller had strongly won. This was gathered up by one of the boys who served the caleoons, without charge, to those engaged in listening, and no money was at any time demanded; though, as far as our short stay there would warrant a judgment, I should conceive the gains of the performer to have been considerable.

A few paces beyond this, we saw another crowd assembled round a little boy of ten or twelve years of age, who was singing, with the notes of the lark, in the clearest and most delightful strain. As we pressed nearer to observe this youth, all were seemingly moved to sympathize in his apparent sufferings. His voice was one of the clearest and most sweetly melodious that the most fastidious ear could desire; but the trill of it, which charmed us so much at a distance, was produced by quick and violent thrusts of the end of the forefinger against the windpipe; while, from the

length of time which some of these notes were held, the boy's face was swelled to redness; every vein of his throat seemed ready to burst; and his fine black eyes, which were swimming in lustre, appeared as if about to start from their blood-strained sockets. Yet, with all this, no one could wish to interrupt such charming sounds. The Arabic music had always seemed harsh to me, the Turkish but little less so, and the Persian, though still softer and more winning than either of these, yet wild and monotonous; but here there was a pathos, an amorous tenderness, and a strain of such fine and natural passion, in the plaints of love which this boy poured forth to an imprisoned mistress, of which I had till this hour thought the music of the East incapable. We all rewarded this infant singer liberally, and admonished him not to exert himself to the injury of his health and powers, for the ears of a crowd, to whom sounds of less angelic sweetness would be sufficiently gratifying.

It was past noon when we returned to the palace, by which time an elegant repast of sweetmeats, fruits, some light dishes, and tea, were served up for us, in the apartments of Assad Ullah Khan, in a quarter of the same palace which we ourselves occupied; and the rest of the day was passed in all the variety of pleasures which our entertainers could procure for us, in the fashion of the country.

Oct. 8th.—The young Mohammed Ali, who had been brought fresh from his mother's lap in the harem, to meet his father here at Ispahan, to-day commenced his military exercises, as it was intended to bring him up to fill the station of Topjee Bashee, which his father now occupied. Two Russian soldiers, who were here as captives on the parole, were employed for this purpose, and their first efforts were directed to teach the young recruit to march. The boy was dressed in a short blue jacket with red cuffs and collar, made after the European mode; but he still retained his full Persian trowsers, with English boots over them, and his black sheepskin cap; a naked sword was placed by his

side, thrust through a waist shawl, so that altogether the lad made a fierce but sufficiently singular figure. The father consoled himself with a hope, however, that when I should send him from Bombay a helmet as worn by our dragoons, and a pair of gold epaulets, the military decorations of his son would be complete; and till then, said he, we must be content with an approximation to perfection. Of the Russians, who were employed to train this youth, one was a trumpeter, and sounded a march on the bugle horn as he walked before the young recruit; the other marched by the boy's side, and directed his infant steps; and in this way they paraded for more than an hour through the gardens and avenues of the palace we inhabited, to the gratification of numerous spectators, who bestowed their applause at every turn.

At the termination of this exercise, so fatiguing to a youth who had perhaps never walked for so long a time at any period of his life before, he was permitted to sit in the presence of his father and several other Khans, at a respectful distance, and we all bestowed our praises on the steadiness of his attitude and the firmness of his step. So successful a completion of this first effort in his military career ought not, said all present, to go unrewarded; and reference was made to the father for the choice of the remuneration to be bestowed, but this was of a nature not fit to be named.

Another excursion was proposed, after our morning's entertainment; and the direction of this being left to my choice, we set out together, with the same party. After going through some of the gardens near our own residence, we directed our course towards Julfa, the quarter occupied by the Armenians, and situated in the south-west part of the city. In our way to this, we crossed the bed of the river Zeinderood, which was now entirely dry. The present want of water was felt throughout the country as one of the most serious evils that had afflicted Persia for many years; and not only was the appearance of every thing changed thereby, but a scarcity and dearth of every species of pro-

visions had followed, which was felt by almost every class of the citizens.

The bridge by which we crossed this river, as well as several others thrown over the stream, and seen by us in passing both on our right and left, was the work of Shah Abbas the Great, to whom almost all the improvements and embellishments of Ispahan are ascribed. None of these works are raised in the centre, as bridges usually are; they form merely a sort of elevated road, continued in a straight line, and perfect level, across the stream. The foundations and supports to this road are, however, a series of pointed arches, with fine paved platforms between them; so that while the stream has free passage through the arches, there is great strength secured to the structure, by the raised way that divides them.

The road of the bridge is sufficiently wide to admit the passage of ten horsemen abreast; it is well paved, has a high wall, adorned with arched recesses on each side; and beyond these is a covered way for foot-passengers, with small chambers of repose, and fountains for the thirsty, placed at regular intervals. The platform of the basement is constructed of large hewn stones, and the upper part is formed of burnt bricks; the style of the architecture is Saracenic throughout, though the ornament of coloured tiles is purely Persian. As a whole, whether viewed from a distance, or in passing over it, it seemed to me equal to many of our best English bridges, and was decidedly superior to any similar structure that I had yet seen in the East.

Immediately before us, as we entered on the garden land beyond the bridge, was a high and broken mountain hanging over the quarter of Julfa; half-way up the side of which, was pointed out a ruined fire-temple of the ancient Persians; and above this was seen a large excavation in the face of the rock, apparently intended for the site of some extensive work, abandoned before its completion. Still to the westward of this, on another hill, was seen a similar temple of the fire-worshippers of antiquity; and

above it, on the summit of a pointed peak, a larger work, which was called a fort, but which none of our party could particularly describe.

The view on all sides was beautiful, from the richness of the plain, the profusion of gardens, and the domes and towers of mosques and palaces, rearing their heads from amidst verdant groves of poplars, sycamores, and graver cypresses, of the most noble size; while the mountain boundaries of this enchanting view gave a grandeur and magnificence to the whole, not to be described.

In about an hour, as we loitered, turned, and halted on our way, to enjoy the scenery by which we were surrounded, we entered Julfa, which we found in a state of as great desertion and decay as all the other outskirts of this declining capital. There was nothing peculiar in the appearance of the place, as the streets were narrow, the houses enclosed within dead walls, and a general air of poverty and dejection prevailed, both over the dwellings themselves, and the countenances of those who inhabited them.

We alighted at the house of the Armenian Bishop, who had been apprised of our intended visit by a messenger preceding us, and we were received by himself and his inferior clergy with every mark of respect. We were first shown into the principal church. This was situated in a secluded court; in the centre of which, and in front of the church itself, was an open square edifice of three or four stories, the lower ones being used as kiosques, and the upper containing two large bells for summoning the congregation to worship,—a privilege which the Armenians do not enjoy in Turkey. The church, though small, was richly adorned with all the pageantry of Christian state: the walls were covered with inferior paintings of subjects from Scripture; the pavement of the floor was spread with carpets; and the dome of the roof was ornamented in the Persian style, with enamelling of gold and colours; while the effect of the whole was improved by a blaze of light,

surrounding the image of the Saviour, on the altar of their devotions.

This church, we were assured, was the work also of Shah Abbas, who seems, among his other traits of high and noble character, to have been the most tolerant monarch towards those of another religion that ever sat on the Persian throne. To this sovereign the Armenians ascribed their enjoyment of several important privileges, which had been taken from them at his death; and since that period, with the general decline of the empire, and more particularly of its capital, they had been declining in wealth and numbers, till there were now not more than three hundred families left, and these, from constant oppression, were all of the poorest class.*

In our reception at the Bishop's house, to which we retired from the church, we were treated, after the Turkish manner, with preserved fruits and sweetmeats, sherbet, caleoons, and coffee, and perfumed with rose-water on our departure. The language of the party was also Turkish, as none of them spoke Arabic, and Persian was not yet so familiar to me as the former tongue.

A certain merchant, named Gulistan, who acts as the agent of

* In Murray's 'Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia,' the writer says, that the most curious picture he had seen of the character and policy of Shah Abbas was given by Don Garcia de Sylva, in the narrative of an embassy from Goa, then subject to Spain, under Philip III. This account had never been printed, but is still in manuscript in the British Museum. The author gives in this a very entertaining account of his interview with Shah Abbas, and his ineffectual attempt to negotiate with that monarch on the subject of Ormuz, in the Persian Gulf; in which the Shah affected to be seized with religious fervour and devotion; and as he put on the semblance of Christianity whenever it would answer any purpose, so, on this occasion, he persuaded the whole of the Spanish retinue that he was one of the most pious and best of kings. A note appended to this account says, it appeared even that he was at one time formally baptized,—an event to which the Jesuits ascribed all the victories with which his arms were crowned against the Turks and Tartars.—See 'Nouvel Conversion du Roi de Perse, avec la Deffette de deux cens mil Turcs après sa conversion.' Paris, 1606. Also, 'Histoire Veritable de tout ce qui s'est fait et passé en Perse, depuis les cérémonies du Baptesme du Grand Sophy.' Paris, 1616.—*Hist. Acc. of Disc. in Asia*, vol. 3, p. 29—45.

the English here, having prepared an entertainment for us at his house, we repaired thither, and were served with a repast nearly in the English manner, except that we partook of it on the ground, instead of having tables or chairs. Bowls of Shiraz wine were emptied and replenished in quick succession, as the Christians of Julfa make as extravagant an use of that privilege of their religion, as in all other parts of the East; and not an hour had elapsed after the sofra or cloth was removed, before many of the party were in highly elevated spirits. A native musician, who played on a kind of guitar, was called on to add to the pleasure of our entertainment; but though he sang to us the amours of Leila and Mejnoun, and some other of the most popular songs of Persia, his strains were harsh, and his accompaniment most inharmonious.

It was nearly sunset when we mounted our horses to return; and as the freshness of the evening air was delightful, we still loitered to prolong our ride; so that we were as tardy in our coming home, as we had been in our going out; the remainder of the evening was passed, in our apartment, in a long theological discussion, of which the Persians seem exceedingly fond, when those of a different religion to their own happen to be present. It was conducted, however, with a good-humour and forbearance, which made it appear to be rather a mere exercise of argumentative talent, than a serious effort to convert any of the hearers from their supposed errors to any particular form of belief.

CHAPTER XIII.

ISPAHAN—VISIT TO THE GOVERNOR OF THE CITY—PERSIAN ENTERTAINMENT—PALACE—GARDENS, &c.

Oct. 9th.—To-day was fixed on for our returning the visit of the Governor of Ispahan, which he had paid us by deputation, in consequence of his inability to quit his residence; and preparations for that purpose were made at an early hour.

The attention of the Topjee Bashee was taken up, as on the preceding day, in witnessing the military tuition of his son; and as the father was quite as well pleased as before with his tractability, the same reward was bestowed on his success, and the same indescribable scenes took place to-day, as were witnessed in the halls of departed grandeur yesterday, and then mentioned as not fit to be particularly named.

It was about ten o'clock when we mounted at the gate of our palace, forming a party of about thirty persons, including the guards who preceded, the Khans who accompanied, and the servants who followed us. Mr. Armstrong, however, who was busily employed in constructing the model of a corn-mill for the government, and whose useful labours these public attentions shown to me had already interrupted, found means to excuse himself from accompanying us; and, in consideration of the motives which urged it, no one could complain. The route of our cavalcade lay partly through the quarter of Jubarra, or Yahoudia, in which we saw a number of very old and deserted mosques, which had before escaped our attention. The minarets of these were different from any others that I ever remember to have seen: they were extremely lofty, constructed of plain brickwork of the best kind, and rose like colossal pillars from the ground, gradually but slightly tapering from the base, until about two-thirds their height, where a termination was formed in a capital resembling the palm-leaved capital of the Egyptian temples. Above this was placed a smaller pillar, of less height and diameter, completing the other third; so that the whole looked like a small column rising out of a larger one: the first capital probably forming a gallery or the mezzuin or crier; and the second, a higher one of the same kind; as, from the loop-holes or windows in the walls, there was no doubt a winding passage inside up to the top.

These minarets were all lofty, mostly single, and generally of plain brickwork; whereas, in the other quarters of Ispahan, the minarets are all low, and generally placed in pairs on each side of entrance gateways, being also coated over with coloured tiles; besides having a railed gallery, with a roofed covering at the top, in an altogether different manner. The style of architecture in the mosques to which these singular minarets were attached, though Saracenic in its order, was different in its general aspect and details from those of the other quarters of the city, and evidently of a much more ancient date, though, from a want of sufficient leisure

and privacy to examine the inscriptions, their precise date was unknown to me. All, however, concurred in the tradition, that this quarter was by far the most ancient of any now included within the limits of Ispahan; and every appearance indeed supported this belief.*

We reached the palace of the Governor at the hour of the morning divan, and the outermost courts were crowded with the horses and servants of those who attended it. After passing through some agreeable gardens, fountained squares, and dark passages, we at length reached the room of state. There were assembled here a considerable number of persons of distinction, all of whom rose at our entering; and the Governor himself, who placed me immediately beside him on his left hand, pointed to a stick with which he was obliged to support himself while walking, as an apology for his not showing me that mark of respect which he acknowledged as my due. There was in all this, an excess of honourable distinction which I could not understand, and which I still believed must have been destined for another, though all my enquiries led to no satisfactory explanation on that point.

The room in which we sat, opened on a square court, in which were garden-beds, flowers, rows of trees, and overflowing fountains filled with trout. From this apartment led a suite of others behind it, all decorated in the richest way, with mirrors, paintings, and gold and enamelled works, in the Persian style, and of the age of the splendid Shah Abbas. The furniture of these rooms,

* Ispahan is mentioned as early as the age of Kai Kaoos; but of this there is no date, though it must have been much before the period assigned to it by Abulfeda, who speaks of it as being increased by the settlement of Mohammedans among the Jews of Yahoudia, near Gajjong, as noted in Rennell's Illustrations of the Geography of Herodotus.†—*Hist. of Persia*, vol. i. p. 35.

† The term "Turk" is applied, by the author of a Persian work, to a Tartar Prince, though it is in describing an event which must have taken place long before the tribe called *Turks* came into that part of Tartary; so that the name of Ispahan may be so used also.—Vol. i. p. 61.

The description of the taking of Ispahan by Timour the Tartar, and the dreadful massacre there, is very strikingly given in the same work.—Vol. i. p. 460.

as of all others I had yet seen in Persia, consisted simply in carpets. These were indeed of the finest and softest kind, as well as exceedingly beautiful; but there were neither sofas nor cushions of any kind, as used in Turkey and Arabia. The Persians of all classes and distinctions kneel, and sit back on their heels, preserving their bodies in an upright posture, and holding their hands across their girdles, or on their daggers, so that cushions are not necessary. This, however, is an attitude used by Turks and Arabs only before their superiors, and never resorted to by people of the higher classes, or those who feel at ease in society. The cross-legged mode of sitting, common to the Turks, is more easy of imitation by a stranger, and admits a greater change of position, so that lounging may be easily indulged in, and cushions are then agreeable; but among the Persians I had never observed this practised, either in the circles of the high or low; and it was so far fortunate, therefore, that my Arab dress admitted of my retaining Arab manners, since it would have been impossible for me to have sat in the Persian fashion longer than half an hour, without being incapacitated from rising again, from so cramped a position.

The dresses of most of the people of distinction in attendance, were those commonly worn by Persians of every description, and offered no other variety than the quality of their materials. The sleeves and bodies of their garments are even tighter than those of Europeans; while the lower part, from the waist downward, is like an ample petticoat, open at the sides, and both undignified and ungraceful. Cashmeer shawls are wound round the waist, in which a plain and generally straight dagger is placed, and the black sheepskin cap is worn by all. An outer coat, with sleeves, and embroidered work around the edges, is used by the Khans and people in office, and this is mostly of bright scarlet broad-cloth, that being the established colour of the court-dress.

In our conversation with the Governor, his enquiries were first directed to European affairs, and afterwards to the state of the

countries through which I had passed; and his observations seemed to me more intelligent than one generally hears from Turks in similar situations, though his knowledge of geography and statistics was equally deficient.

After an hour had passed, during which caleoons were three or four times presented, and passed from one to another in the order in which we sat, refreshments were brought in. These were contained in a number of large oblong trays, which were placed before the company; so that, as they sat in three sides of a square, close to the walls of the room, the trays, when placed end to end, formed one continued table before the guests, and were conveniently accessible by every one. Their contents were chiefly fruits, in great variety and abundance, particularly pears and melons, which are nowhere in the world thought to be produced in higher perfection than at Ispahan; bread of the whitest colour and best flavour; cheese equal to English in taste, though different in appearance; salads of lettuce and other herbs; milk, cream, rice, sweetmeats, sherbet of pomegranate juice cooled by masses of ice; and other similar delicacies, completed a feast of the most agreeable kind. Water was served to the guests for washing, both before and after the meal; but coffee is not usually drunk by the Persians, either in public or in private.

Before we retired, an offer of every thing that the power of the Governor, or his city of Ispahan, could furnish us with, was publicly made, and a hope expressed that my stay would be in every respect agreeable both to my health and wishes. A guard of honour was appointed also to escort us back to our own residence at the palace; and I felt almost oppressed by the overwhelming honours thus shown to me.

We passed the evening in a walk through the gardens of our dwelling, and closed it by a supper with the Topjee Bashee and a party of his public friends.

Oct. 10th.—Horses and attendants were prepared to-day for an excursion round the royal palaces and grounds, and notice

had been sent to the keepers in attendance to be ready for our reception. Assad Ullah Khan was again appointed to be our guide, though several other Khans, with their servants, accompanied us.

Soon after leaving our own abode, we found ourselves at the Palace of the Chehel Sitoon, or Forty Pillars. The gardens around this mansion, and leading towards it, are all beautiful; the sycamores, which line the avenues, are large and ancient; the cypresses and firs, interspersed throughout the grounds, have an equally fine though different aspect; and the slender poplars, bending to the breeze, give a lightness and airiness to the thickest woods. The fountains, canals, and walks, are laid out with all the taste and regularity of the best grounds of Europe; and, in short, every thing seems to have been, in its original design, as perfect as one could have desired it. The palace itself, though inferior to the gardens amid which it stands, is still a monument of the luxury and splendour of the age in which it was erected. In front is an open portico, in which three or four rows of pillars, about six in each, support a flat roof, or canopy; the four central pillars, which are placed at the angles of a square fountain, have a device of four lions, each carved in a hard stone, for the pedestals; the pillars are all lofty, perhaps fifty feet in height, but disproportionately slender; the shaft is one solid trunk of sycamore wood, shaped octagonally round the sides, and lessening from the base upwards, till it seems to be scarcely a foot thick at the placing on of the capital. The capital rises in a square, increasing its dimensions from below like an inverted pyramid, and is filled on every side by the concave niches so peculiar to the Saracenic architecture. As these pillars have to support a roof of enormous weight, their strength is altogether insufficient; and not only do their disproportionate height and slender proportions offend the eye; but the bending of the parts of the roof between them, threatens a speedy fall. The shafts and capitals of these pillars are entirely covered with silvered

glass as mirrors,—sometimes wound round in spiral flutings; at others, laid in perpendicular plates; and in others again, enamelled over by flowers and other devices, after the manner of embossed work on polished steel. The ceiling of the roof of the portico is divided into square compartments, moulded and richly covered with azure blue and gold, in admirable devices. The back part of this portico is one entire sheet of gold and mirrors, splendid as a whole, and containing many beauties in its minute details. Every possible variety of form is given to the devices, in which the plates and smaller pieces of glass are disposed, and their partitions are frames of gold. Paintings of beautiful females, some sculptured works on marble, inscriptions of highly finished writing, both of ink on paper, and of gold on blue enamel, with a hundred other details, impossible to be remembered amid the overwhelming magnificence of so much labour and wealth, distract the attention of the observer.

The hall into which this leads, and for which this noble portico is an admirable preparation, is, if possible, still more magnificent, though its decorations are of a different character. The vast size of the room itself, the dimensions of which I should hesitate from mere memory to state, is alone sufficient to give it a noble air. The domed roof is indescribably beautiful, and the large compartments of historic paintings that decorate its walls, defective as their execution would appear to an European eye, are yet full of interest, from the portraits they contain, and the events to which they relate. Shah Abbas the Great, the distinguished founder of these kingly works, the restorer of his country, and the father of his people, is himself represented as receiving the audience of an Indian monarch, and the portraits of the most distinguished characters of his reign are pointed out by the attendants. As a banqueting room, scenes of war and state do not alone decorate its walls; but the enjoyments of the social board—women, wine, and music—have their full share in the pictured stories of the day.

We went from hence to the Royal Harem, called, from their

number, the Haft Dest, or Eight Divisions. The view from hence was on all sides charming; but on that where the building hung over the stream of the Zeinderood, and commanded a view of gardens, bridges, palaces, and mosques, bounded only by the distant mountains, the prospect bordered on enchantment. It would be as vain as it would be endless, to enter into a detail of all that we saw here: gardens, fountains, secluded walks, and ranges of apartments, decorated in the richest, most varied, and pleasing manner, were the prominent features of this establishment. There were no large halls of state, as in the Royal Palaces; but the rooms were suited to the comfort of smaller parties than those which swelled the pomp of the monarch in his more public banquets with men. The style of decoration in the rooms was less gorgeous; but the delicacy and harmony of colours in the painted devices, and the lighter gilding of the domes, though more effeminate in character, was scarcely less beautiful. Every one of these apartments had good fireplaces, on which the stain of the smoke still remained; many of them had hollow work on their walls, executed in the most tasteful designs, and intended, as we were told, to give an echo to the voice of the singers, and the sounds of music, and improve as well as prolong the tones of love and pleasure which once reverberated here. Verses, names, and sentences, were written on these walls in the Armenian character, and were most probably the work of such Georgian or Armenian females as had been immured here among the slaves of the royal bed: these, with many other traces of recent habitation, awakened feelings of a mixed though painful nature. *

We were delighted with all that we had seen here, and went from hence to another palace, similar in design and interior de-

* On the capture of Ispahan by the Affghans, Mahmood, their chief, resided in the palace of Ferrahabad, where fifty of the best-born and most beautiful virgins of Julfa were sent to him in their richest clothes.—*Hist. of Persia*, v. i. p. 630. It is not improbable that the Armenian writing seen by me on the walls of this palace was from some of these imprisoned females.

coration to the Chehel Sitoon, and, like it, seated among the most beautiful grounds. The Hasht Behest, or Eight Paradises,—a name most appropriately given to that number of gardens, in which all that Mohammed, or the Christian author of the Apocalypse, had painted of a sensual heaven, seems to have been anticipated,—detained us for some time amid its walks and bowers. The Char-Bagh, or Four Gardens, a work of the present Governor, Hadjee Mohammed Hussan Khan, the entrance to which is imposing from the long avenues of trees which it presents to the view, also shared our admiration. We had seen, however, so much to charm and delight us, and quitted one spot with so much regret, though to visit another perhaps still more beautiful, that we were literally fatigued with pleasure, and tired of constantly beholding so much splendour and magnificence in art, mixed with every thing that is agreeable in nature.

Our excursion closed by a visit to one of the Khan's friends, with whom we supped and passed the evening, having taken the refreshments of the day at almost every palace and garden at which we had halted. When we returned home at night, my sleep was really interrupted by the confused recollections of all the overpowering magnificence which had pressed upon me, at every step that we had taken during the day.

CHAPTER XIV.

ISPAHAN—VISIT TO THE PRINCIPAL MOSQUES AND COLLEGES OF THE CITY.

Oct. 11th.—It had been my practice in all large Mohammedan cities, where it was at all likely that I should become known as a Frank from my residing or mixing with Christians there, to visit the mosques as early after my arrival as possible, while I was yet a stranger; but here I was prevented from so doing, as I had scarcely set my foot in the city, before I had become in some respects a public character. As I could not, on this account, now go safely as a Mohammedan into these hallowed sanctuaries, I ventured to express to the Khan, who had been my guide to all the other places, my desire of visiting them as a mere observer. Some scruples were raised, not on his own account, but on those of the Moollahs,

who are considered a highly bigoted race, and more particularly as to-day was the sabbath on which the mosques were crowded both by them and the most devout of the laity. It was at length determined on, that we should go as privately as possible; and changing my dress for one of extreme poverty, with a pointed Dervish cap on my head, a staff, and a long chaplet of green beads, which I had brought with me from Jerusalem, made at the mosque of Omar, on the site of Solomon's Temple there, I set out with Ismael on this holy excursion.

We went first to the small mosque of Lootf Ali Khan, which is in the centre of the east side of the Maidan Shah. This is simply a square building, over which is raised a flattened dome, without pillars, arched vaults, or aisles. The workmanship is throughout of the best kind, both in the masonry and embellishments. Large blocks of Tabreez marble, highly polished, are used at the entrance, and along the surbasement of the interior. The gilding, enamel, and painting of the walls, and the ceiling of the dome within, is equal to any of the halls of the palaces that we had seen; and, small as it is, there is a great neatness and beauty in the whole. The exterior front, the portals, and arch of the door, and the outer surface of the dome, are all coated with painted and enamelled tiles, in which azure blue is the prevailing colour; and the inscriptions, with which the building is crowded within and without, are chiefly in Cufic and in Arabic.

From the mosque of Lootf Ali Shah, as this personage is sometimes called, from his having assumed the title of sovereignty during his lifetime, we went to the great mosque, at the southern end of the Maidan, which is dignified with the peculiar name of the Mesjid Shah, or Royal Mosque. The lofty gate which forms the outer entrance to this, and faces the centre of the public square, has on each side of it a minaret, with open galleries at the top; but though in any other situation these would be considered large, they look diminutive here, from the noble size and elevation of the gateway, which they guard. This gateway leads to an inner

court, in which are fountains for ablutions, and large circular vases of close-grained stone, filled with water, for drinking. These last ring like metal at the stroke of the nail, and are finely sculptured over with devices and inscriptions in bold relief. The outer pair of folding doors, which are scarcely less than sixty or seventy feet in height, and of a proportionate breadth, are cased with silver, and covered also with inscriptions, holy sentences, and characteristic ornaments in relief; and at the cistern, which meets the passenger on entering it, are silver cups fastened by silver chains to the marble, all of the most finished workmanship.

Around the court of the mosque are close vaults, for the devotions of the infirm or delicate, during the winter, as the temple itself is almost an open building. The ground plan of the whole, as seen from an elevated station without, is far from being regular; yet the want of uniformity is not apparent to the eye, either on entering or being within the building; and this has been as ably effected by the architect here, as at the Egyptian temple of Philœ on the Cataracts of the Nile, at the principal entrance to Geraza in the Decapolis, and at Palmyra, where one of the finest gateways has been so constructed as to harmonize diverging lines; and in the whole of these, irregularity has been made to appear regular, by the skill of the builder.

Nothing can surpass the rich yet solemn state of the interior of this royal mosque. Pavements and surbasements, of the fine diaphonous marble of Tabreez, cabled mouldings of arches, finely carved pilasters, and other portions of the same material, give an appearance of simple and solid beauty to the foundations of the edifice; while the lofty domes and spacious aisles have a grandeur not to be surpassed; and the rich decorations of the walls and roofs of every part, present one blaze of laboured magnificence, which would be too splendid, but for the architectural majesty of the edifice it adorns.

Around the mosque, on three of its sides, and communicating with it by separate passages, are colleges for the studies of the

learned, and the education of youth. In these are courts, with fountains, shaded by the finest trees, as well as flower-gardens, fruits, and all that could render retirement at once cheerful, yet undisturbed, and favourable to literary pursuits. We remained in this mosque for a considerable time, praying and counting our beads. As we ran through the ninety and nine appellations of the deity, some of the Moollahs expounded, in Persian, certain Arabic verses of the Koran. They spoke from an elevated oratory, ascended to by flights of marble steps, each entire flight of one solid block; and with several of these we exchanged the salute of peace, while Ismael strove to draw them into a conversation on some of the higher points of doctrine; but as they saw that our practices were those of the Soonnee sect, whom they very cordially hate, they all proudly shunned us, which left us as undisturbed as we could have wished.

The mosque was crowded at noon with worshippers, perhaps to the number of two thousand; some of whom offered up their prayers alone and almost in silence, while others ranged themselves behind Imams, or leaders, and gave their devotions all the public solemnity of union. The beautiful parable of the Publican could not receive a more striking illustration than from the scene before us; and the gorgeous splendour of the dome, beneath which it was witnessed, added powerfully to its effect.

Some of the mosques at Cairo are exceedingly fine, and preserve perhaps some of the best specimens of the Saracenic architecture that exist. The mosque of Omar, which stands on the site of the old Jewish temple of Solomon at Jerusalem, has a noble aspect from without. That at Damascus, which was formerly a Christian cathedral, is beautiful, from its long avenues of Corinthian columns of marble. The court of the great mosque at Aleppo is perhaps nowhere surpassed; and some of these at Diarbekr and Bagdad have parts worthy of admiration. But, taken altogether, I have never yet seen, nor ever expect again to see, any Mohammedan temple so truly magnificent in all its parts, as

this Royal Mosque of Ispahan. When quitting it, indeed, with this impression, and without the prospect of my ever entering it again, there was a feeling of melancholy present to my mind, which it required all the aid of new scenes and new ideas to dissipate.

The other mosques, which we visited in the course of the day, were too inferior to this, to merit a description immediately after it. Some derived their chief beauty from their size; others were small, but exceedingly neat; and on all, a degree of labour and expense had been bestowed, which proved both the former wealth of the place, and the attachment of the people of Persia to splendid temples of worship.

We returned in time, after a long and fatiguing round, to say our evening prayers in the Mesjid Shah. The crowd was not now so numerous as at noon; and the proud Moollahs, with their aspiring pupils, bearded elders, and a few Fakeers, made up the assembly. The grave and hollow tones which reverberated through the lengthened aisles, and were re-echoed by the lofty domes,—the dim twilight, as the shades of darkness fast approached,—and the silent passing by of barefooted devotees, who were but faintly seen, and not heard, though their loose robes brushed us as they glided along,—were all striking features of a scene that inspired mixed sensations of awe and admiration, and almost fixed one to the spot, in that meditative mood, which the mourning children of affliction mistake for philosophy, but which the lover of more cheerful joys would shun as the bane of happiness.

Oct. 12th.—We had not yet seen the fine colleges of the learned, which were among the most splendid establishments of Shah Abbas the Great, nor visited any of the learned men of the day; and as we were still detained at Ispahan for an opportunity to depart with a caravan, this duty was fixed on for our morning excursion.

We first went to one of the smallest of these Medresses, as they are called, and now almost the only one in Ispahan in which

there are any students, except those of the regular priesthood. It was an exceedingly neat establishment, consisting of ranges of chambers around the interior of an open square court, like the arrangement of a caravansera, but of a better kind. The court itself was laid out in fountains and canals, bordered by avenues of trees, and divided by beds of flowers. In this court, stood the tomb of Tekeea Mir Abul-Cassim Fendereski, an Arab of great learning and celebrity, and the translator of Plato, Aristotle, and other Greek philosophers, into his own tongue. The tomb itself was of plain marble, simply inscribed in Arabic characters on a small tablet at the head; a spreading tree overshadowed it by its branches; and leaning against its trunk, which overhung the tomb, was a small framed and glazed tablet, on which was beautifully written, on paper, an Arabic ode, in praise of the deceased, in a style of great eloquence; but the author of which had also followed the fate of the learned subject of his eulogy.

We reposed beside this tomb for half an hour, and listened to the moralizing strains of the Dervish Ismael, who urged every thing he either heard, or felt, or saw, or even imagined, in support of his favourite maxim, that Pleasure was the only Good; and that we should therefore eat and drink, since to-morrow we die; and if he was eloquent on ordinary occasions, he was additionally so on the one that now presented him with so fine an illustration of that which he called the folly of human wisdom. A young student of about eighteen, who saluted us as he passed, and who, from our manner of returning it, joined us where we sat, aided the sententious declamations of the Dervish by some fine quotations from the very writer whose ashes we had come to venerate; and we found, from a prolonged conversation with this lad, that, young as he was, he was deeply versed in the doctrines of Soofeeism, and was fast verging into that scepticism, which is almost the constant result, in these countries, of premature and self-directed studies of a metaphysical cast.

From hence we went to the more splendid Medressé of Ahmed

Shah: a noble work in its original state, but now almost abandoned, as there were only some inferior Moollahs who occupy a few of the numerous chambers around its stately courts. The outer gateway of this spacious edifice, which fronts a long range of gardens, is closed by large folding-doors, which, like those of the royal mosque, are coated over with sheets of silver, on which, devices and inscriptions are executed in relief. The interior court is laid out in fountains, canals, and gardens, in which large spreading trees yield an agreeable shade, and beds of flowers give the appearance of a constant spring. The ranges of chambers below, as well as those in the galleries above, are conveniently adapted for the retirement of study, and have each of them the proper offices attached behind, for the comfort of those who may inhabit them.

As Assad Ullah Khan was still our guide, and we rode with a large retinue of servants, our appearance commanded respect; and indeed we every where met with it. Even here we were invited into the neat apartment of a Moollah, and served with sweetmeats and caleoons by his own hands. This man, as we were assured after our visit, was one of the most learned in Ispahan; though in a conversation which was introduced on the subject of the demonstrative sciences of astronomy and mathematics, as well as the less certain ones of chemistry and medicine, he hardly seemed to be aware that these branches of learning were better understood in Europe than in Persia. His geographical knowledge did not even extend to the relative positions of the countries forming the boundaries of his own. In astronomy, the motions of the heavenly bodies were not at all familiar to him, though he knew the effect popularly ascribed to the conjunctions of the stars and planets. Chemistry and medicine were in no way connected with his studies; and his notions of both, were those of a man who had neither heard nor thought on the subject in his lifetime. But in polemical divinity, the distinctive features of Soonneeism and Sheeahism, and in the doctrines of the Soofees, he was

more proficient. He could recite some of the verses of Saadi, whom he called his favourite poet, though he confessed at the same time his disrelish for the other distinguished ones of his country. Of Arabic literature he was entirely ignorant; and the best historians of his own country were unknown to him, since I mentioned the names of several, with the titles of their works, as popularly known among Oriental scholars of the west, of which he had not even heard. The claim of this man to be considered as one of the most learned of the day, and the ornament of the colleges of Ispahan, might have been sufficiently well-founded; but if this were admitted, as it was here without a scruple, the condition of useful learning in Persia must be deplorably low and degraded. The Moollah Hadjee Mir Mohammed Hossein was however kind, subserviently humble, and easily polite in his manners; and there was neither pride nor affectation apparent in his behaviour.

We spent a considerable time with this man, examining some specimens of fine Persian writing, of which he had an extensive and beautiful collection, chiefly made up of detached sentences and chapters of the Koran. We were served here with a noon repast of fruits and sweetmeats, before we were conducted over the college; and this, with a ride in the garden, into which its outer front opened, consumed nearly the whole of the day; so that we did not return home until sunset, where a scene of more animating joys was prepared for us,—and a night of turbulent delight, with all the accessories of wine and appropriate music, which are nowhere enjoyed with more zest than in this country, where they are strictly forbidden, succeeded to a day of calm and tranquil pleasure.

CHAPTER XV.

ISPAHAN—PALACE OF OUR RESIDENCE—PAINTINGS—GARDENS—DISTANT VIEW OF THE CITY.

Oct. 13th.—We had been hitherto so occupied in our excursions round the city, and the sight of all that has been so hastily and imperfectly described, that the splendid palace of our own residence had not yet been half gone over, and the more modern establishment for the present royal family attached to it had altogether escaped our attention. The first of these was one of the earliest residences of Shah Abbas the Great, and that to which he is said to have been most attached through life. It is called Talar Tuweelah, from its extensive stables for one thousand horses near it. Its large hall of audience, which fronts a fine garden, has been already described. Its noble dimensions,

and the splendour of its decorations, were in no way inferior to those of the Chehel Sitoon, and other buildings in the Hasht Behest; and though of equal, or even older date, it was in a much higher state of preservation than either of these. A large closed room led off from one end of this, which, as it was entered by small latticed doors, and afterwards solid double ones, was most probably a banqueting room of the King, when retired with his females. The domed roof of this was particularly beautiful;—the pictured subjects were appropriate to retired pleasures, the stained glass windows gave a rich and mellowed light, and there were balconies, or galleries, ascended to by steps, as if for musicians, or singers. My own room communicated with the principal hall by three sets of double-doors, and opened on the other side into a high walled court, perfectly secluded even from the highest point of view without. This was also said to have been one of the female apartments, which appeared extremely probable, from its comparatively small size, the style of its decorations, and the manner of its communication, by double-doors, with the hall on one side, and by an equal number of the same kind with the garden and court on the other. The walls of this, from the floor to the roof, were of raised gold-work, on a blue ground, and the lower recesses were executed in the same way, with devices of flowers, trees, birds, &c. In the upper recesses, which were separated from the lower by a rich broad frieze of gold ground, with flowers, were a succession of historical paintings. In these, females were always the heroines of the story: sometimes they appeared in the chase—at others, in the act of being sold as slaves—love and intrigue were depicted in some—and in one, the sight of a female bathing in a stream had checked the speed of an amorous prince, who gazed on her with intense desire. The story of Baharam Gour, or Baharam the Fifth, and his fair favourite, fills the last compartment near the door, and is perfectly understood by even the children of the country. This monarch, whose reign has ended nearly fourteen hundred years, has been pronounced to be

one of the best sovereigns that ever ruled Persia; the happiness of subjects being his sole object, during the whole of his reign. His favourite amusement, in hours of relaxation from public duties, was the chase; and in the indulgence of this passion, indeed, he lost his life.

Sir John Malcolm, in his visit to one of this monarch's hunting seats, heard almost exactly the same story of his skill as an archer, as was related to me by a domestic who explained the painting of the subject on the walls here.* The king is represented sitting in a chair, while his horse is held by an attendant; and his banished favourite is seen bearing on her shoulders a large black cow, and with it ascending a flight of ten steps leading to an apartment above. The doors of this pictured room were securely made, neatly panelled, and the grain of the sycamore wood of the country imitated on a varnished ground by waves of gold. The windows over the doors leading to the garden were among the most beautiful of any that I had seen in Ispahan; they were of a pointed arched form, richly covered in small hollow work of the most ingenious patterns, and the harmony of colours in the extremely minute pieces of glass which filled these intervals was perfection itself. As the doors below were double, so were these windows; the hollow between the inner and the outer ones occupying all the thickness of the wall, from three to four feet. The outer windows were now spread over with paper, yet, even in this state, the rich effect of the light was inconceivably fine.

Behind the suite of apartments connected with the great hall, were other courts and gardens, filled with canals and fountains, and surrounded by buildings fit in every sense to form the abodes of luxurious and powerful sovereigns; in all of which, labour and wealth had been lavished, as if neither seemed of any value or account. Large squares, with open troughs for horses around them,

* Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. i. p. 119.

and closed stalls within, extensive kitchens, and other domestic offices, were attached to these; and, within all, was a spacious court, of nearly a thousand feet square, with empty fountains, broken pedestals, portions of a fine stone pavement that covered the whole, a range of noble buildings round the sides, and a square pile of more costly ones in the centre, all now deserted and in ruins. This, we were told, was once a royal harem, in which were immured upwards of three hundred of the most beautiful Georgian girls, besides wives and slaves of other countries; and the magnificence of the establishment, the richness of its gilded arches, domes, and walls, induced us to credit all that could be said of it in its original perfection.*

* One of the oldest and best accounts of Ispahan, soon after the period of Shah Abbas's government, is given by Sir Thomas Herbert, an English traveller, who visited it in 1627, and parts of whose description are so curious as to be worth transcribing, especially as his book is not now so easy of access to the general reader. He says:—

'The imperial city of Spahawn is in thirty-two degrees thirty-nine minutes north; is seated in the kingdom of Parthia, in a fair plain and pleasant horizon. It is by some called Spaan, and by others Spahan and Hispahan, as their several dialects concorded.

'It is a city of as great extent as fame, and as ancient as famous, and no less proud than ancient. At this time triumphing over those once more royal cities, Babylon, Ninive, Shushan, Ecbatan, Persæpolis, Arsatia, and Nabarca.

'This city was in her Infancy called Dura; (but whether in that Dura, where the great Assyrian monarch, Nebuchadnezzar, erected his golden colosse, I know it not:) but this is known, that it was called by the ancient Greeks Hecatompylos, from its hundred *gates*; for Hecatompolis was meant by the Cretan isle, which had so many *cities*.

'The boasting Persians named her, for her bigness, Half the World; and this greatness of hers was long ago, for these Scythopersæ know her no longer, then called Spawhawn, which has no signification. To say truth, she is beautiful and ancient; her circuit may be nine miles, and in that the better half is gardens.

'The city is round, like Paris; its circuit, I have said, about nine English miles; her inhabitants, 300,000 souls, at most. The chief ornaments of the city are the Mydan, or great market; the Hummums, or hot-houses; the mosques, the King's palaces, and the gardens.

'The Mydan is in the heart of the city, and, to say truth, all the bravery, concourse, wealth, and trade, are comprised in her. It is built quadrangular, though of unequal angles: from north to south, is seven hundred and seventy-five of my paces; from east to west, two hundred, but, accounting the aisle to the north issuing, is at least a thousand.

'It is built in form of our Royal Exchange, with four aisles and a court within, called the

The palace erected for the present monarch, Futteh Ali Shah, was the work of a builder named Aga Bozoorg, who was himself our guide over it. It has not been completed more than four years, and was altogether done at the expense of the present Governor of the city, Hadjee Mohammed Hoosein Khan, as a tribute to his sovereign. It is said to be by far the best palace of his own in all the country, and far superior to any of the royal residences at Teheraun, Tabreez, Kermanshah, or Shiraz; for, though all the remains of departed grandeur here are the property of the King, it is the fashion of this country for the reigning sovereign not to

Hippodrome, so called from their running with horses there. It is stored with all merchandises, chiefly drugs; and to this place daily resort most nations, as English, Dutch, Portuguese, Arabians, Turks, Jews, Armenians, Muscovites, and Indians.

'The Hummums here are round, spacious, and costly; one of which, built by this king, cost fifteen thousand pounds sterling, ere it was finished. They are much given to bathing, and it is most of their physic. The men go in the afternoon, the women at morning, and guided by the eunuchs.

'The mosques, or churches, are large and handsome: that at the west side of the Mydan is most beautiful. It is round, built with good white marble, five yards high from the sole; the rest is dried bricks, covered over with posies of Arabic, and like work.

'The King's prime house is within the Mydan, yet no way entrenching farther than the other houses; it is two stories high, gilded and wrought in antique works and posies, to the outward view; within, the rooms are covered with rich carpets, the roof embossed and wrought with gold and blue, terraced above.

'Before his door lie unmounted forty-three demicannons, one-and-thirty are brass, the rest of iron, and are culverins. These were brought from Ormus or Babylon.

'At the north end of the Mydan are eight or nine rooms, like chapels, hung with lamps, which, being many and clear, give a dainty splendour. Hither, sometimes, the King repairs, and when he is away, the people are admitted.

'The gardens fall in the next place to be spoken of; and in this, the city enjoys many, both large and delightful. I will content myself to speak of one, by which you may conjecture of the rest.

'It is at the south-west end of the city, to which you pass through a street of two miles length, and better, both sides planted with Chenor trees.

'The garden is called Nazar-iareeh; it is a thousand paces from north to south, and seven hundred broad. It hath varieties of fruits and pleasant trees, and is watered with a stream cut through the Coronian mountain, and is forcibly brought hither. The first walk is set with pipes of lead and brass, through which the water is urged, and gives variety of pleasure.

'From the entrance to the farther end, is one continued open alley, divided into nine

inhabit any palace of his ancestors; so that excellent edifices are thus neglected and destroyed, to erect inferior ones on their site.

This palace, which is in the general style of the plainest of the old ones here, is furnished with spacious courts, fountains, canals, gardens, and trees. With such fine models immediately before their eyes, the builders have succeeded in completing a tolerable imitation of the more ancient works. It is only less costly, less gorgeous, and less overpowering in splendour. The apartments are laid out on nearly the same plan, and are adorned in a very similar way. Some few paintings of Georgian youths, of both

ascents, each mounting higher by a foot than the other: the space betwixt each ascent is smooth and pleasant. In the midst is a fair tank, or pond of water, of twelve equal angles, and rows set with pipes to spout the water.

'At the entrance is a little, but well-built house of pleasure, the lower rooms adorned with crystal water, immured with tanks of rich white marble.

'The chambers above are enriched with pictures, representing sports, hawking, fishing, archery, wrestling, &c.: other places in use very richly overlaid with gold and azure.

'But that which is of most commendation, is the prospect it enjoys; for, by being seated so high, it overtops and gives the excellent view of a great part of the city, which cannot be obtained elsewhere.

'Returning to the city, you pass over a bridge, arched and supported with five-and-thirty pillars, under which is a stream of water, sometimes so broad as the Thames at London, but other sometimes near dried up; and he that looketh to it is called Prince of the River, a name and employment of great honour and benefit.

'Abbas, the late victorious King, with whom few things were impossible, for many years past hath endeavoured to cut through many mountains, (the Coronian, being next the town,) to bring the river to Spawhawn, by the daily labour of forty thousand slaves, which of itself runs quietly fifty miles distant thence, and has performed it almost successfully; which, when it has perfection, may well compare with that old wonder, intended by vain-glorious Nero, betwixt Ostia and Avernus, now called Lycola.

'Out of the city, behind that late described garden, is a mount rising in midst a spacious plain, which by the Persians is called Darow, and supposed that place where Darius, in imitation of his predecessor Xerxes, wept upon view of his innumerous army, so suddenly to become nothing.

'In this city is a column, compact of several heads, of men, antelopes, bucks, goats, buffaloes, elephants, and camels: it is at the base about twenty foot in compass, and, I suppose, the height threescore. It was erected upon this occasion: when Abbas was proclaimed King, the Spawhawnians would not let him enter, but charged him with the death of Mahomet, his father, and the murder of Emyrhamze, the Prince, his elder brother.

'This nettled Abbas, and made him swear stoutly by his crown, by his father's soul, the

sexes, are seen, with portraits of Jemsheed,* and other distinguished ancients, and of Jengiz Khan, and some other moderns. The portrait of the King himself occupies the chief place in every apartment: sometimes represented as seated on the chair or throne of state; at others, reclining in the divan, surrounded by his sons and officers of court. The portraits are all alike, and are said to be very faithful: they are executed as well as any of the older paintings of Ispahan. All these rooms being newly carpeted, the work fresh, and every thing in perfect order, there is greater pleasure in witnessing this effort of recent labour than in traversing the decayed halls of more splendid days; though almost every part of the modern works, both in the architecture and the details, bespeaks a decline of art in the country.

The present monarch has resided at Ispahan at three different periods, for a short time only; but though he admires the situation, the climate, the productions, and the former greatness of

eight refulgent orbs, the eleven hundred names of God, and the honour of his prophet Mahomet, for this rebellion he would chastise them bravely, cut off forty thousand of their heads, to raise a pillar of terror and admiration, as a ready sacrifice unto Mahomet.

'After much ado, he conquers them, ransacks the city, kills a thousand of them, and, mindful of his oath, gives order to behead forty thousand. A lamentable cry was raised, and much entreaty used, but to small purpose. The vow of the Persians never alters, nor could he be dissuaded, till the Mufti, or sacred messenger, assures him, Mahomet by revelation told him, his oath might be dispensed with, so forty thousand were beheaded, no matter what; to which, at length, he is content to, whereupon a general massacre of all sorts of beast executed, the harmless often suffering for the nocent; and this monument of merciless mercy was reared higher than any mosque in that city, though now grown ruinous.

'A like trophy was built by cruel Mustapha Bassaw, general for the Great Turk, Amurath the Third, who with a hundred thousand men entered Persia, and was repulsed by Sultan Tocomack, the Persian general, where, in the Caldaran plains, thirty-thousand Turks lost their lives, and only eight thousand Persians, of whose heads Mustapha made a monument for his dear-bought victory, and horror to the Persians.' Pages 82—91.

A singular representation is given, in an engraving, of this obelisk, or monument, composed of human skulls, some parts of which remained to a period within the memory of persons still living in Ispahan; but every trace of it is now fortunately obliterated.

* Jemsheed, the Alfred of the Persians, to whom all great works are attributed, is said to have divided his subjects into four classes: the second of which, or the warriors, were called Nessereeans.—*History of Persia*, p. 206. Can the Nessereeah of Kerrund, and of the mountains in Syria, have any relation to these?

Ispahan, the latter of which he might have it in his power to restore by his residence here, a regard to his personal safety is said to make him prefer the bad air, bad water, and otherwise disagreeable station of Teheraun, where he has secured his treasures by strong walls,—is nearer his own tribe of the Kujurs for support, in case of rebellion,—and has behind him impenetrable forests for escape, in the event of these betraying him.* Whether these be his motives or not, such is the general opinion of his subjects here, who do not scruple to pronounce it openly, and inveigh both against his boundless avarice, his oppressive government, the corruption of his inferior agents, and his own personal cowardice.

After long waiting in vain for an occasion of departing with a caravan from hence for Shiraz, we had determined to set out on the morrow alone, and trust, as we had done before on similar occasions, to our own vigilance and union for safety.

The city of Ispahan being seated on a perfect plain, with no one eminence throughout its vast extent, we had as yet enjoyed no commanding view of it as a whole, from any one part of the numerous rides that we had taken around it. The most elevated building in the city, excepting only the domes and minarets of the mosques, was fortunately a part of the very palace we inhabited, and stood at the end of a walled passage, of about a thousand feet in length, leading directly from the court of my own apartment eastward towards the Maidan, or Great Square.

* The Kujurs are a Turkish tribe. The first son of the present King of Persia, Futteh Ali Shah, called Mahommed Wali Mirza, was once Governor of Mushed, but has been driven out, and now lives about his father's court at Teheran, without a post. The second son, Mahomed Ali Mirza, now Governor of Kermanshah, is a high-spirited and aspiring character, and a great favourite of the nation. The third son, Abbas Mirza, Governor of Tabreez, is less enterprising and less popular; but he is the avowed favourite of the monarch, and is declared heir to his throne. The fourth son, Hassan Ali Mirza, Governor of Shiraz, is seemingly contented with his present power, and puts forth no pretensions to an extension of it. The two first of these are the offspring of the King by Georgian women: the third is by a high-born female of the Kujur tribe, and is therefore chosen to succeed the King; but the second son refuses to do him homage during the life of his father, and publicly avows his determination to dispute the empire with him, at the point of the sword, on this monarch's death.

This building is called Ali Kaupee, or Ali's Gate, from the Turkish; the lower part of it having been brought from the tomb of Imam Ali, at Nujuff. The edifice is a lofty square pile, of five stories in height, with a flat terrace on the top. As the chief builder, Aga Bozoorg, was always near, from his assisting Mr. Armstrong in his labours, and this with all the other public edifices was in his custody, we expressed a desire to ascend to the top of it, and take our evening coffee and caleoons,—a favour which was readily granted.

The eastern front of this building occupies the immediate centre of the west side of the Maidan Shah, looking directly over that extensive square, and opening into it; and its western, or back front, led, by the walled passage described, directly to our own residence. We ascended it on the inside by a narrow staircase, the steps of which had been cased with coloured tiles, and the walls and ceilings were richly painted. After passing a number of small apartments and irregular passages, we came on the third story to the noble balcony, or portico, which overlooks the Maidan, and in which the sovereigns of Persia used to sit, to receive processions, embassies, or other large assemblies, as they appeared before them in the square below.* This portico re-

* The manner in which these embassies were received and entertained, as well as the character of the reigning monarch and his court, in the time of Abbas, is so graphically described by Herbert, that a perusal of his account will give the modern reader a more accurate notion of the state of the country then, than any thing that could be presented to him. He will not fail to have observed, in a preceding extract from the same old writer, the freedom with which travellers spoke, two centuries ago, of the peculiarities in foreign manners that attracted their attention. More recent voyagers are obliged to speak less plainly: but it is questionable whether the public taste has not driven them into the opposite extreme, and whether what is gained in decorum of expression is not lost in fidelity of description. The following is Herbert's account of his entertainment in 1627.

'At our alighting at the court-gate, an officer led us into a little place, having a pretty marble pond or tank in centre, the rest spread with silk carpets, where our ambassador and the rest stayed two hours, and then were feasted with a dish of pelo, which is rice boiled with hens, mutton, butter, almonds and turmerack: but how mean soever the diet was, the furniture was excellent, pure beaten gold, both dishes, covers, flagons, cups, and the rest.

'Thence we were led by many Sultans, through a large, delicate, and odoriferous garden, to a house of pleasure, whose chambers both viewed the tops of Taurus and the Caspian Sea.

sembles in its general aspect that of the Chehel Sitoon, and the pillars are of the same number and description. We passed our evening here, enjoying the splendid view of the city, till night invited us to repose.

'Into this lodge we entered; the low room was round and spacious, the ground spread with silk carpets, in the midst a marble tank full of crystalline water (an element of no small account in those torrid habitations), and round about the tank, vessels of pure gold, some filled with wine, others with sweet-smelling flowers.

'Thence into a chamber, furnished in manner as the former, but with three times more vessels of gold, set there for pomp and observation.

'At the end sat the Potshaugh, or great King, cross-legged, and mounted a little higher than the rest, his seat having two or three white silk shags upon the carpets.

'His attire was very ordinary; his tulipant could not outvalue forty shillings, his coat red calico quilted with cotton, worth very little, his sword hung in a leather belt, its handle or hilt was gold; and in regard the King was so plain attired, most of the court had like apparel on for that day.

'Yet the plate and jewels in that house argued against poverty, a merchant then there imagined it worth twenty millions of pounds.

'So soon as our lord ambassador came to him, he by his interpreter delivered briefly the cause of his journey, which was to congratulate his victorious success against the Turk, to renew the traffic of silk, and other things to benefit the merchants, and to see Sir Robert Sherley purge himself from those imputations laid on him by Nogdibeg the King of Persia his late ambassador.

'The King gave him a very gracious reply, and whereas he thinks it honour enough to let the great Turk's ambassador kiss the hem of his coat, and sometimes his foot, he very nobly gave our ambassador his hand, and with it pulled him down and seated him next to him cross-legged, and calling for a cup of wine, drank to his Majesty our famous King, at which he put off his hat, and the King seeing it, put off his turban, and drank the cup off, which our ambassador pledged thankfully. And the people thought it a strange thing to see their King so complimental, for it is a shame with them to be bare-headed.

'The chamber wherein he was entertained, had the sides painted and gilded very beautifully, though indeed the verse may be inverted, *Materia superabat opus*, and not *materiam*.

'Round about, with their backs to the wall, were seated fifty or sixty Beglerbegs, Sultans, and Chawns, who sit like so many statues, rather than living men. The Ganymede boys go up and downe with flagons of wine, and fill to those that covet it.

'The day before this ceremony, the King rode to hunt the tiger, accompanied only with two hundred women, his wives and concubines; most of them were attired like courageous Amazons, with scymitar, bow, and arrows, the eunuchs riding abroad to prohibit any to come in view of them: the penalty is no less than loss of life, a dear price for novelties.

'And though for the most part, when the King is in a progress, he has sometimes ten thousand, other times twenty thousand Cozelbashaws, or soldiers of best reckoning, yet at our being then at court, two thousand was the most then attending him.' Pages 96—98.

There are passages in this, and indeed in the works of all old travellers, which could not now be printed; but the curious must be content to refer to these in the originals.

CHAPTER XVI.

DEPARTURE FROM ISPAHAN—AND JOURNEY BY AMMEENABAD AND YEZDIKHAUST TO PERSEPOLIS.

Oct. 14th.—Having completed all our arrangements for prosecuting our journey further south, we rose early, and taking a moonlight breakfast, with the friends who had so hospitably entertained us at Ispahan, we mounted our horses for departure at day-light. The Fakeer, Zein el Abedeen, had now left us, to remain at this city; assigning as his reason, that a revival of the passion, which he had in vain performed a pilgrimage to conquer, would not suffer him to quit again the favoured abode of his mistress, who, he assured us, had taken pity on him since his return, and made him vows of eternal fidelity, though her husband still held her in bondage. The Dervish, Ismael, how-

ever, still continued attached to me; and though he was evidently averse to our setting out on the journey alone, yet he affected to bid a loud defiance to all dangers, as he buckled on his sword.

Mr. Armstrong insisted on accompanying us out of the city, and the Topjee Bashee, Assad Ullah Khan, who was prevented from doing us this intended honour, by his having an early engagement with the Governor, sent his own led horse, with his young son, Mohammed Hassan, and a number of his servants to swell our train. All this, as I had now resumed my former character of an Arab Pilgrim, I would rather have dispensed with, but there was no resisting these kind attentions.

As we quitted Ispahan, we went out through the Shiraz-gate, passing through the long avenues of the Char Bagh in our way, and having gardens on each side of us, well watered by fountains, canals, subterranean aqueducts,* and artificial cascades, the trees in most luxuriant foliage, and full-blown roses adding their perfume to this general breath of Spring, prolonged to so late a season. Crossing the bed of the Zeinderood by the fine bridge before described, we continued our course southerly, having Julfa and the mountain of the fire temple on our right; and passed through a mean but extensive burying-ground, where a party of females were uttering their lamentations over a new-made grave.†

In about an hour we had gained a line of small hills, in one of the passes through which we filled our water-skins at an enclosed spring, as we learned that there was no water on the road before

* The aqueducts of Persia are all subterranean, and contribute nothing to the architectural beauty or ornament of the country, like those of Europe.

† This is a very ancient custom. We read of the hired mourners for the dead in the Scriptures. Herodotus describes the practice as prevalent in ancient Egypt. And Herbert has the following mention of it in his day in Persia:—

'Their marriages have not much ceremony, poligamy is tolerable. Their burials are exactly performed by hired women, who for five hours space, scratch their ugly faces, howl bitterly, tear their false hair, swoon and counterfeit sorrow abominably: these their ejaculations

us. From this spot we enjoyed a last view of Ispahan, which from this elevated point, and during the freshness of the morning, looked indescribably beautiful.

It was here that our friends quitted us to return to the city. The grasp of my countryman was warm and cordial; and the expressions of the young Mohammed Hassan were as kind as when we parted before at the Khan of Chal Seeah; though he said he had thanked God a thousand times already, and should continue to do so all his life, for our having so unexpectedly passed ten days together, after what both had thought a final separation.

On clearing the ridge of hills, we came out on an extensive plain, on the left of which villages, gardens, and the large circular buildings for pigeons, before described, occupied a line of several miles. In the way through this, we passed some ruined buildings; and at its extremity we came to a steep road, cut up over a bed of rock, with some deserted huts at the top.

As it was now near noon, we alighted to refresh. The character of the stone composing the hills here, was different from that we had seen before, being hard, close-grained, of a chocolate-brown colour, placed in horizontal layers, of nearly equal thickness, and disposed to divide in oblong squares. The last slate we had seen was on the first low ridge of hills, where we filled our supply of water for the journey: this, too, was of a brownish colour, and disposed to divide perpendicularly, in square pillars; thus differing from the blue slate between Ispahan and Hamadan, which separated in horizontal plates.

continue till his placing in the grave, which is after they have washed him, (for they think purification in life and death is very necessary,) they perfume him, wrap him in fine linen, bid him commend them to all their friends, lay him with his head to Medina Talnabi, place him where never any was formerly buried, (because they think it an extreme injury to molest the bones of such as sleep,) place two stones writ with Arabic letters, to signify his lodging, its length and breadth, then bid farewell.' Page 168.

At this pass there was a small custom-house for taking account of the entry and departure of goods from Ispahan, but not for receiving the duties. On the right, in a plain, were seen some villages, but the general character of the prospect was dull and barren, with dry plains, and ridges of mountains perfectly bare, and of very broken and pointed summits.

When we mounted and continued our way, our course lay first south-west, and then south-south-east, but was on the whole nearly south; and after passing some walls of gardens and small villages, now deserted from want of water, we arrived about an hour and a half before sunset at the village of Mayar, which is esteemed nine fursucks from Ispahan, from whence we had been travelling ten good hours, at a quick walking pace.

This village, which is seated in a narrow defile of the plain, between bare hills, is small, and almost totally ruined, there being now only a few gardens with their occupiers there. An excellent caravansera, of a more highly-finished kind than we had yet seen in the country, on the public road, is also abandoned, and going fast to decay; but as it offered us the temporary shelter we required, we halted here for the night.

Oct. 15th.—While we were preparing to move at an early hour in the morning, the attention of the Dervish was attracted by the sight of a Persian stanza inscribed on the brick-wall of the recess in front of our chamber. Some sorrowing lover had probably written it, under the warm recollections of his mistress; and Ismael, whom it powerfully reminded of his young lover at Bagdad, was moved to a degree of feeling which I was still unable to comprehend. The Persian verse, as far as he was able to interpret it in Arabic, expressed the following lamentation:—'When the remembrance of thee steals into my heart, like a spy in the night, tears of water first flow from my eyes; but these soon give place to tears of blood.' After repeating the verse in Persian aloud for several times, and evidently with a high degree of admiration, and

looking alternately at the writing and at me, he exclaimed, 'Ah! how hard it is to have one's heart divided between Philosophy and Love! The first would make me your disciple and your follower throughout the world; but the last—yes! it cannot be otherwise,—that will make me abandon all my dreams of wisdom and perfection, and hasten my return to the young Elias, the moment that you embark upon the ocean for India.'—'Al Ullah,' 'It is with God,' I replied; and the Dervish repaired with sorrow to his labours.

We departed from Mayar soon after sun-rise, and went south-easterly across a desert and gravelly plain. Our course gradually turned more to the southward, and was nearly south-south-east throughout the whole. The character of the country was exactly similar to that over which we had passed on the preceding day: flat and barren plains, bounded by ridges of bare rocky mountains, with a few deserted villages and caravanseras seen in different directions, and no water. Our whole distance was six fursucks, according to report, which we rode in about seven hours, as it was full an hour past noon when we entered Komeshae.

At the distance of a mile before we reached this place, we came on the ruins of a deserted village, where there were now only a few gardens artificially watered, several large pigeon towers like those at Ispahan, and an extensive burying-ground. The principal object visible in this last, was a large tomb, crowned by a cupola rising from amidst trees, and standing at the foot of a rocky mountain, its sacred precincts being marked by an enclosing wall. As this was close to the high road, we alighted here, under pretence of reposing for a moment in the shade; the sun being powerfully hot in the parched plain near, and a dead calm prevailing. We found at the place a troop of Persian soldiers, who had made it their quarters as they halted on their march from Shiraz to Ispahan with public money, under escort. These were dressed in the usual costume of the country, but

they had each an English musket, with the East India Company's mark, and wore a double cross-belt, with a large black cartouch-box on the right, and a bayonet on the left side, as by English soldiers. These men at first insolently objected to our entry; but as we assured them that the only object of our journey through Persia was to visit the tombs of the venerated champions of the Faith, adding all we knew of the tomb of Imaum Hussein at Kerbela, Imaum Moosa at Bagdad, and Imaum Reza at Mushed, we were ourselves almost venerated as holy personages, and suffered without a murmur to pass on.

This sepulchre is that of Shah Reza,—a name given to one of the sons of the Imaum Moosa, whose father is said to have had three hundred wives, at different times and places, and upwards of a thousand children! No particulars were stated to us of the life or death of this branch of so holy and prolific a root; those around us being quite as ignorant as ourselves on these points. The garden in which his tomb was seated was exceedingly pretty, and contained several other buildings, for the accommodation of visitors as well as attendants. In the centre of the upper court was a large square cistern of solid masonry, filled with clear water from running streams; and on the surface of this swam a proud and favoured drake, followed by his harem of seven milk-white ducks, the only birds of the kind I had seen since leaving India, and kept here as if in token of the kind of fame which the father of the deceased enjoyed in the number of his wives and children. In another part of this court was a cistern of crystal water, in which were kept some hundreds of fish, as at Orfah, Tripoly, and other places near particularly sacred spots; and as at these, they were here suffered to procreate their species, *ad infinitum*, without any preventing cause, being never disturbed, always abundantly watered, and constantly well fed. The earliest of the divine precepts, "Increase and multiply," had been not only well observed by the family of the honoured saint, but seemed

also to be encouraged, as much as possible, in others, by the examples which struck the eye of every visitor to his tomb.

The sepulchre had very little of grandeur: a large square room, ascended to by a flight of steps, and covered by a dome, contained in its centre an oblong sanctuary, arched over at the top, within which the ashes of Reza were enclosed in a smaller case. The tomb within was covered with offerings of silver candlesticks, dishes, gauze handkerchiefs, tassels, and trinkets, heaped in confusion one upon another. The brass bar-work of the outer cage was finely executed, in the close hollow fabric of a diagonal netting, the brass rods nearly an inch in diameter, and the squares between them about the same size, the whole being equal to any thing of the kind that I had ever seen in Europe or elsewhere. On the side of this work which faced the entrance, were hung two or three paltry looking-glasses, and some written tablets in Arabic; small carpets were spread over the whole, and printed cotton cloths and shawls were hung around the interior of the dome, like the trophies of our naval victories beneath the dome of St. Paul's in London. A profusion of smaller offerings, left by visitors to propitiate some vow, was suspended in all directions; but as we were unprepared for this act of piety, we departed from the shrine without leaving even a tribute behind us.

On quitting the tomb of Shah Reza, we passed through the remainder of the burying-ground in which it stands. The tombs were all Mohammedan, though some were of a very early age; and their general character was that of oblong blocks of stone, about the common size of a coffin, laid on the grave, with the inscription, chiefly in Arabic, on the upper surface. They were invariably flat, which forms a characteristic difference from the tombs of the Soonnees, whom the Sheeahs accuse of heresy in making the tops of their sepulchres pointed and round.

It was amidst these tombs that we saw the rude statue of an animal, as like a lion as any thing else, but almost equally resembling any other four-footed beast. There are several similar ones

at Hamadan, Goolpyegan, and Ispahan, standing in different parts of these towns. The statue at this place was now thrown down, and lying on its side in the high road; though, from its being the only one we could hear of near the spot, it is likely to have been the same as that noted by Mr. Morier, on one of the tombs near; and thought by him to be of very great antiquity. This lion, for such it was most probably intended to represent, had a naked sword sculptured along the side that lay uppermost, and on its blade were two lengthened circles, in the form of a Roman O. Mr. Niebuhr, in his description of the gymnastic exercises at Shiraz, in the public-houses called Surshore, says, that the champion in these feats of strength is allowed to put a lion on his tomb; and tells a story of his mistake in this respect, on seeing lions on tombs, near that place, (p. 143). This statue was therefore probably one that decorated the grave of some such champion who had died here, and might have been of comparatively recent date, as its form was of the rudest kind, and its whole appearance that of a work from a modern Mohammedan artist.

After leaving this place, we entered the town of Komeshae by a mean gate; the place being encompassed by a wall of brick, coated with mud, of moderate height, strengthened by circular bastions, and having a dry ditch on the north side. The interior showed a series of new dwellings, raised on the ruins of older ones; and after passing through a line of roofed bazaars, we alighted at a small caravansera there.

The town of Komeshae is about the size of Goolpyegan; but more than half the buildings included within its walls, are abandoned and in ruins. Among them are seen several large edifices, probably the dwellings of governors at different times; and two mosques, a public bath, and closed bazaars, are left to testify that the former population of the town was greater than at present, there being now scarcely five hundred resident inhabitants.

We found here more general misery from want, than we had seen elsewhere; there being, first, an absolute scarcity of all the

necessaries of life; and next, an incapacity among the people to purchase what little there was, from their extreme poverty, and the high price of every thing. Though mendicants are far from numerous in those parts of Persia through which we had passed, there were not less than fifty persons, old and young, who crowded round us in the khan, soliciting for God's sake a morsel of bread to save them from starving. It was so dear, that our funds seemed hardly likely to last long enough to purchase sufficient food for ourselves and our horses as far as Shiraz; but it was impossible to shut one's heart against the claims of real want, and we therefore purchased and distributed bread among these miserable and desponding supplicants, who loaded us with blessings in return.

In the evening a caravan arrived from Pars, laden with grain, on its way to Ispahan; and though there were at least two hundred persons accompanying it, most of whom were armed, and about three hundred mules and horses, they had not been able to protect themselves from attacks on the way. The want of rain had been so universally felt over the country, that men were tempted to acts of desperation to supply the cravings of hunger. This caravan had been attacked by a party of nearly a hundred horsemen, who in a skirmish had killed two of the mule-drivers, and succeeded in carrying off about thirty laden animals, the rest escaping by closer union, when the danger of their scattered mode of travelling had been thus made apparent. This horde of robbers was said to have been Bactiari, a name given to a race of people, springing from Persians, Arabs, and Koords, who live in tents, and range the valleys in the tract between this and Shooster,—speaking a mixed dialect of all these three languages, in which the Koordish is predominant, and acknowledging only the leaders of their respective tribes. Elated by their success, they had also carried off the flocks of some of the villages in their way; as in their own parched domains their grain had failed them, and their own herds declined for want of water and pasture to subsist

on. A hundred stories were told us of small robberies committed by the distressed peasants of the villages near the road, on unwary passengers, from mere want; and every voice was raised against our proceeding alone, as we professed we intended to do: but, conceiving that there might be as much safety in our own party as in a larger one, since we had seen that numbers were not always a sure protection, and above all, since it would be impossible for us to support a long delay, and no one knew when a caravan would overtake us, I determined to go on, against the inclination of the Dervish, and the remonstrances of all who attempted to advise us.

Oct. 16th.—The scene of yesterday was again repeated, almost before it was daylight: on one hand, a crowd of supplicants for bread; on another, men accusing us of want of common prudence, and prognosticating our certain pillage or death.

When the sun rose, however, we burst through both these obstacles, and set out from Komeshae alone. Going out of the eastern gate, and continuing for about half an hour in that direction, our road turned to the southward, and led along the foot of a high and bare range of mountains to the east. On our right we had a deep plain, bounded on the west by a similar range of hills, and about ten or twelve miles wide. It appeared to be of unusual fertility, though it was now sparingly watered by some small streams, all the other channels being perfectly dry. Along the centre of this plain was seen a line of villages and gardens, continuing for several miles to the southward, as well as some others at its western extremity; but most of these were said to have been lately abandoned, from want of water; and indeed most of those near which we passed were deserted and in ruins.

Our road over this plain lay about south-east by south, and at noon we reached the small station of Múksood Beggy. A large caravan from Shiraz, going to Ispahan, escorted by a troop of soldiers, had made their halt here, and every place of shelter was fully occupied by them. We were treated, indeed, with the

greatest insolence by the soldiery, for daring even to make an enquiry about a place either for ourselves or horses, while they occupied the station. We were therefore contented to halt for half an hour beneath the shade of a tree, near a small stream of almost stagnant water, at which, however, our horses drank, while we reposed; after which, we again set out on our way.

Our course continued in nearly the same direction as before; but the plain had now changed from a light fertile soil to a gravelly and barren one, scantily spread with tufts of a thick wild grass, on which a few flocks of sheep were seen feeding. Not a village now appeared throughout our way, until after about four hours travelling we arrived at a small place called Ammeenabad. It was just before our entering this that we met three men on foot, coming towards us; and our suspicions were at first excited by seeing so small a number travelling alone. When they approached us nearer, however, Ismael leaped from his horse, and embraced one of them with all the fondness of a brother. They kissed each other on both sides of the cheek, drew aside, embraced, and kissed again for several times, before a word was spoken; and then the first words were, 'Ya Ismael! Ya Hassan! Ya Ullah!' and a thousand impatient enquiries followed. This Hassan was a young man from a town in Mazanderaun, who had been known to the Dervish for many years, and had often been the companion of his pleasures in many places, but particularly at Bagdad, Moosul, and among the mountains of Koordistan. He possessed an extraordinary talent as a fine writer, and his occupation was that of executing sentences and tablets for particular purposes, and transcribing copies of the Koran. His leading passion was like that of Ismael, to roam from place to place, and enjoy every species of forbidden pleasure; and like him, too, he could earn by his skill a sufficient sum in four months to support him in idleness and dissipation for the remaining eight of the year. Some of his best copies of the Koran were sold, as I was assured, for more than two hundred tomauns, (about 200*l.* sterling;) but he executed

none, even in his plainest way, under fifty; so that his gains might well be considerable. He had recently been at Shiraz for three months, and intended passing the winter at Ispahan. Like the Dervish, his friend, he was poorly dressed, and travelled always on foot; for the sake, as he said, of having less cares, and being more at ease to follow any capricious inclination which might seize him on the way. His ready money he generally disposed of for an order, or letter of credit, on some one in the town to which he was going, that he might be more at peace and free from apprehension of robbery on the road. He illustrated the benefit of such a practice by an anecdote of Saadi, the great Persian poet and moralist, the sense of which was as follows:—"Saadi, journeying on the road, in possession of a small sum of money, had for his companions some wealthy merchants, who carried with them a considerable treasure. They were in continual alarm for fear of robbers, while the philosopher was perfectly at ease. The merchants, observing the tranquillity of their poor comrade, were a good deal surprised, and still more so when he offered to propose to them a certain remedy for their fears. They impatiently demanded to know it: 'Throw away,' said the moralist, 'that for which it is excited, and you will be as much at ease as I am.' They could not be prevailed on to do this; but proceeding a little further, they overtook a man asleep, in the middle of the road.—'What!' said they, rousing him from his slumber, 'do you dare to repose here, in a road beset with dangers on every side?' 'Why,' replied the stranger, 'I am perfectly at ease, for I have nothing to lose;' and turning on his side, sunk to sleep again. This was so forcible an illustration of the advice they had received, that they acknowledged the justice of the poet's maxim: 'But,' said Hassan, 'as the greater part of mankind are content to admire good advice without following it, the story does not add whether the merchants acted upon that which they both heard and saw, or not.'"

We were detained, but most agreeably, for nearly an hour on our road by this incident; and the parting of these two friends,

who had so unexpectedly met, was quite as full of feeling as their first interview.

The village of Ammeenabad, where we made our halt, is very small, and has only a few gardens, and these but recently enclosed. There is a small but neat caravansera, of an octangular shape, with all the usual accommodations for strangers, and well built; but having now no keeper of any kind, it is going fast to decay. It appears to have been at one period converted into a castle, as stone walls and circular towers were added to the original brick-work. The ruins of a larger and older khan are seen near it; and before the present one is a square reservoir, lined with stone, for water. A flight of descending steps is seen just beyond it, over the entrance to which are painted two standing lions, guarding a sun between them; having, probably, some reference to the ancient arms of Persia, a lion with the sun rising behind it, as still seen in some of the gardens and public places at Ispahan.

Oct. 17th.—Leaving Ammeenabad at sun-rise, we went south-south-east, over a barren plain, having ranges of mountains in view on all sides, but generally lower, of a whiter hue, and of less broken forms than before. This character of the country continued all the way through our morning's route, in which we saw only a few ruined and deserted khans and private dwellings, until we reached the station of Yezdikhaust, in about four hours after our setting out.

The approach to this place is marked by a domed building of yellow brick, the tomb of an Imaum Zadé, and the place on which it stands is called Ali-abad. Among the humbler graves which surround it, we noticed the rude figure of a lion, still standing in its original position over one of them, and resembling exactly the fallen one near the sepulchre of Shah Rezah, and the others noted in the large towns on our way.

From our first seeing Yezdikhaust, it appeared to us to be seated on the plain; but on drawing near, we found it to be built on a sort of high and steep-cliffed island, in the middle of a deep

ravine, which had every appearance of having been once the bed of a large river. The walls of the houses were carried up in a perpendicular line with the cliff of the mass on which they stood, and many of their tops were at least one hundred feet above the level of the dry bed below. This mass seemed to be about five hundred yards in length, and not more than a third of that in breadth, the whole of its surface being covered with buildings. To complete the isolated nature of the situation, the only passage into the town was at the south-west end, and this was over a plank, leading from a high piece of ground to the gate, which could be removed at pleasure, and thus leave a deep ditch of defence. This had been once, no doubt, a castle, judging from the appearance of the work at this point of entrance; and it then had a small town seated around its foot, the ruined and abandoned dwellings of which are still to be seen in the valley below. In the cliffs of the supposed river's bed, on each side, and opposite to the town, are a number of caverns, probably used for sheltering flocks, though sometimes also, no doubt, for human habitations. The soil of this insulated mass, as seen in its perpendicular side, is a light coloured earth, with a mixture of broken stones, and the bottom a hard rock. The soil continues nearly half-way down to the base, and I thought I could perceive the mark of a water-line along its surface, though it must have been long since any water flowed so high, at least anterior to the existence of the ruined buildings now seen in the valley below.

The number of dwellings in Yezdikhaust does not exceed a hundred and fifty, and the inhabitants are reckoned at about six hundred. As they are within the territory of Fars, this being the first town after leaving the province of Irak, they are tributary to the government of Shiraz. The strength of their situation makes them, however, insolent, and difficult to be kept in order; and, like all lovers of freedom, they have the character of a ferocious and lawless band. Their houses present a very singular appearance, with their numerous apertures of doors and windows, and

wooden balconies hanging over the perpendicular cliffs. When we passed beneath them, they were filled with women, all unveiled,—a sight which we had not before witnessed in any part of Persia. They were, moreover, very familiar and communicative; some enquiring from whence we came; others abusing us in a loud voice as spies of the Bactiari; and most of them assuring us that we should be discovered by the soldiers in the khan.

After passing through the valley, and noting some garden lands near, with trees and cultivation in the vale to the north-east of us, all watered by a stream flowing through its centre, but now nearly dry, we arrived at a good caravansera on the opposite side, at the foot of the south-eastern cliff. It had a long Arabic inscription, painted in white on a blue tiled ground, over the door; and the khan itself appeared to be old and well-built, with a round tower, like the bastion of a castle, at one of its angles.

We found this place full of soldiers; a troop of whom, under the command of a Khan, had come thus far from Shiraz to scour the road, of the robbers by which it was infested. They had been halting in this neighbourhood for several days, and were to set out on their return to-morrow. The arrival of two strangers alone, dressed as Arabs, and both well-armed, excited such surprise among them, that even before we alighted, we were surrounded by a host of enquirers. All we could say, as to the motive of our not waiting for a caravan, seemed to them improbable; and the general conclusion was, that we were either spies of the Bactiari, from among the Arabs about Shooster, or that we were robbers on our own account, thinking to escape suspicion by the boldness of our entry here. We first remonstrated, then supplicated, for God's sake, to be left in peace, and at last were driven to defiance, which proved the only effectual mode of keeping these soldiers at a distance.

From Yezdikhaust there are two roads to Shiraz; the western one being the nearest and most direct, and the eastern, which is the longest and least frequented, going through Murgaub and by

Persepolis, which I was of course desirous of visiting. As the troop were to set out to-morrow for Shiraz, and we had already confessed ourselves destined for that place, it was concluded that we should go with them. I suffered this impression to remain undisturbed; but in our enquiries about the eastern road by Choulgistan, as we did not know it ourselves, the person who had secretly engaged to lead us into it during the night betrayed our confidence, and the impression of our being highwaymen was therefore complete. A party of the soldiers, who occupied chambers near us, were set as guards over us, to see that we did not escape; and orders were issued from their commander, to whom the matter was reported, that we should be taken into safe custody, and conveyed with them to Shiraz, to answer for ourselves. This had now become a serious affair, without any apparent remedy; for, though I believed the disclosure of my being an Englishman, and the sight of the letters and passports which Assad Ullah Khan had procured me, in case of need, from the Governor of Ispahan, would have immediately liberated us; yet I was not willing to betray too hastily, as an Englishman, my assumption of a character so venerated among them as a pilgrim from the tomb of their Prophet.

After remaining some time under arrest, I had an invitation from the Khan, or chief of the troops; and on my visit I found him at prayers. Our first exchange of salutes was friendly and cordial: and on my reproaching his people with want of hospitality, I was invited by him to sit down,—was given the place of honour,—and served with caleoons and tea. The motive of our journeying thus alone was then asked, and answered satisfactorily. I then entertained the chief with a long account of Massr, or Egypt, my supposed country, and particularly of the great assemblage of pilgrims who met there annually to proceed to Mecca, and who journeyed together without understanding any more of each other's language than their common profession of faith, 'La Illah ul Ullah, oua Mohammed el Russool Ullah.'—'There is but

one God, and Mohammed is his Messenger.' At these words, the chief bowed and kissed the earth, in which mark of respect I followed his example, and was consequently taken to be both learned and pious in an extraordinary degree. According to a very common custom among Mohammedans, a maxim was then demanded of me by the Khan for his guidance through life, when I replied, 'Open not thine heart too readily to strangers; neither let any thing remain secret between thee and thy friend.' This saying was much approved; and led to my being pressed to partake of an excellent supper, at which I was treated with the greatest consideration. On my assigning to the chief as my motive for wishing to see Persepolis, or the throne of Jemsheed, the admiration which I entertained for his memory as an illustrious character, he offered to be my escort there with all his troop, of nearly one hundred horsemen; saying, that though this route lay wide from his prescribed track, he would do it as a mark of the high respect he bore to my wisdom and my virtues. It was accordingly determined that we should set out on the morrow, by a middle path, towards Persepolis: so entirely had a well-timed display of courteous and bold behaviour changed our relative position.

Oct. 18th.—At sun-rise we quitted Yezdikhaust, in company with the whole Persian troop. No one had descended from the town into the valley that surrounds it, from fear of the soldiery; so that I could learn nothing of the deep well described there by Le Brun. We had, however, some of the excellent bread of the place brought out on the plank, or drawbridge of entrance; and found it better than any we had tasted in Persia, and fully deserving its high reputation.

About a league from Yezdikhaust, going southerly, we quitted the plain, and entered among hills, neither very rugged nor steep, but having a tolerable road over them. In about four hours we reached a narrow pass, in which was a small round tower, with loop-holes in its walls, seated on an eminence, and said to be often

occupied by robbers. There were now stationed here, by Shuker Ullah Khan, the Persian chief, who rode with us as my new friend and guide, several musketeers to guard this pass; though they were sometimes suspected of acting the part of those they were sent here to check. On the right of the road was an old castle; and between these two buildings in the valley, a spring of water and grass. When we alighted here, I was again seated on the same carpet beside the Khan, and served with his caleoons. During our conversation, I learned from him the following account of a small domed tomb opposite to us, once covered with painted tiles, like those at Ispahan, but now in ruins. 'Shah Abbas,' he said, 'being at Shiraz, wished to go from thence to Ispahan in one night, in order to effect some great purpose, and surpass even the wind in speed. The best horse of his kingdom was prepared for him, when one of his slaves expressed a wish to accompany him. The monarch looked on the slave with contempt, thinking no man among all his subjects was equal to the task he had undertaken. The slave, however, insisted on trying, determining either to succeed, or die in the attempt; and the monarch, at last, pleased with such persevering ambition, promised him one of his daughters in marriage, on the night after their arrival. They set out, and flew over hill and dale, reaching this spot about midnight, without exchanging a single word. The monarch dropping his whip, called to his follower to alight and take it up from the ground. The faithful slave did so; but in the act fell on the earth, and expired on the spot, from excessive exertion. He was accordingly buried here, and this tomb was erected to his memory: from which moment the place has been called Gombez Lala, or the Tomb of the Slave.'

We soon re-mounted, and proceeding from hence pursued a similar course. I continued to ride by the Khan's side, and to be engaged in constant conversation with him; his soldiers riding in a body behind us. The character of the country now appeared

to be much altered: instead of long plains and high ranges of broken hills, we had stony, barren, and rugged ground, with mountains of more even outline than before.

In four hours more we came to a small station called Degerdoo, containing only a few huts, enclosed by square mud walls with bastions, and a small caravansera without. The distance of these stations was said to be eight fursucks, which we had come, for the first time, in an equal number of hours, having ridden a brisk pace in a large company. There also I shared the same apartment with the chief, and was treated with the greatest respect.

Oct. 19th.—The night was at first cloudy, and threatened rain, but it afterwards cleared up: the wind, however, was high from the north-west, and after midnight it became calm. There was so hard a frost that the water in our leathern bottle was frozen in our room, and icicles were thickly clustered on it from without. We were therefore obliged to keep in large fires, for the horses, who were also all warmly clothed; yet many of them suffered greatly from the extreme cold. By the care of the chief, however, the Dervish and myself, who shared his apartment, enjoyed every comfort.

Our next stage being a long one, we set out three hours before sun-rise, going south-south-east, over uneven ground, and at day-break we came to a ruined station called Caravansera Shah Sultan Hussan. The cold was as intense as I had ever felt it, even in a North-American winter: when we alighted, we therefore kindled large fires, which blazed around the horses and ourselves, and both the animals and men almost thrust themselves into it to procure heat. The climate of Persia is certainly in great extremes: and the story of the death of many individuals from extreme cold at Persepolis, after a feast given by Alexander, may be readily believed.

We set out again from this place when the sun rose, and went south-south-east, over more even ground, coming at last, in about two hours, on a fine plain, extending in a south-east

direction for many days' journeys, though nowhere more than ten miles wide. Beyond the south-west range of hills which bounded it, rose a high ridge of mountains, all said to be of limestone; their summits were now covered with snow. This mountainous range is called Kooh Poostamār, and is inhabited by a tribe of Koords, called Loor, whose tract of country is called Chal Mahar, and divides the territory of the Bactiari from that of Fars. The language of these people is different from that of the northern Koords, and is called, like themselves, Loor. They live in tents, though the snow on their hills is said to be perpetual, even in the warmest years.

The plain in which we now rode was called Chemmen Asipass; it is one of the most fertile that is known, being watered by many streams from the foot of the hills on each side of it; and in spring and summer it is thickly covered by wandering tribes of Persians, properly called Farsee, or people of Fars. A few encampments were seen here even now; but the greater number of the people had gone with their flocks two or three days to the eastward, to a tract of country called Gurrumseer, or the warm district, to avoid the excessive cold of this region.

Our road now became extremely tortuous, as it wound along the foot of the south-western hills, which we were obliged to follow, in order to avoid the channels and streams in the centre, these being difficult to pass over even now that they were dry. The general average of our course was about south-south-east.

At noon we reached a ruined caravansera called Koosk Zer, said to have been built by Shah Abbas, and certainly wrought with more labour and expense than any preceding one that we had seen. The brick-work was faced with large blocks of stone; the dome at the entrance was tiled; and there was fine sculptured frame-work at the gate, with inner chambers, and other conveniences. It was of an octagonal form within, and was altogether a fine building, though it was now entirely abandoned.

We halted here for half an hour, and refreshed ourselves with

lebban and milk, brought from the Parsee tents. The manners of these people are like those of the Arabs; their dress, however, is perfectly Persian, with tight robes and black caps, and their language is a pure Persian also.

We went hence southerly, still on the plain, and continuing to wind along the foot of the south-western hills. On our left, to the eastward, and at the foot of the opposite range of hills, or from eight to nine miles off, we saw a circular castle, with bastions, having a small town within it, called Nizamabad. In this plain the horses of the Persian army of this part of the country are put to grass, in spring, and it is then covered with tents and flocks.

In about four hours from Koosk Zer we reached the station of Abarik, having come, as yesterday, eleven fursucks in as many hours, the fursuck being certainly about four English miles. This is a miserable place; a few poor families only living here, in a walled village, and a few empty huts are seen without. Tyranny, however, was, as usual, exercised to procure all the comforts it contained for the military chief and his train. The soldiers of Persia never pay for any thing on a journey, and are, in short, licensed robbers. I had a long conversation with the Khan, on the evil of this system, in which he frankly admitted that it was unjust. We had a shower of rain here, the wind being westerly; but in the night we were visited again with a severe frost. We were, however, well fed, well clothed, and provided with every comfort. Some of the troop were sent out to shoot pigeons for our supper; and they thought it hard service, as the practice was to select for this duty those who were not favourites, by which it was considered as a sort of punishment. I advised the chief to try the effect of a contrary system, making the duty a sort of honorary distinction, which he adopted with complete success; for on sending an order that six of the best shots of his train should go out on this service, there was a contention between the whole troop for the honour of deserving this title. I had tried the experiment often at sea, by inviting the smartest seamen in the ship

to lead the way in some duty which others had imposed as a punishment; and I never knew any such appeal to the pride and better feelings, even of the commonest men, to fail.

Oct. 20th.—At daylight this morning, were brought in, as prisoners, by our outscouts, twenty-eight robbers, all taken from a village called Hadjeeabad, in the hills which bounded the plain of Chemmen Asipass, on the south-west, or between it and the mountains of the Chal Mahar. These people were pure Persians, and their tribe are said to be great plunderers. Among them were three with snow-white beards, and four or five not more than ten years old. They were taken in the act of depredation by an outscout party of Shuker Ullah Khan's soldiers, and brought down here on their way to Shiraz to be executed. They were all mounted on asses, and had one leg placed in a large log of wood, like a handle in the head of a wooden mallet. They were, however, very merry, and seemed quite indifferent to their fate.

We departed from hence at sunrise, and though the robbers had travelled all the previous night, they were not allowed to rest, but were taken away with us. Our course went still to the eastward of south, and the range of hills on our right now took a more easterly turn. In an hour and a half after our setting out, we ascended a pass called Kotel Mader e Doghter, or the Hill of the Mother and Daughter. Its ascent was not exceedingly difficult, though it was necessary to alight in consequence of the stony and broken state of the road. Men were here sent out on each side to reconnoitre; and this service was again given to those in disgrace, who murmured at it as a hardship. I again proposed to the chief to try the opposite course, by selecting the bravest and best behaved of the troops for the duty. The men were flattered and pleased by the proposal, and the Khan was delighted at the success of the experiment. Our descent over this pass on the other side was exceedingly difficult: at the foot of it we entered a second plain, lying east and west, and equally fertile with the former, but of less extent.

We halted at a stream here, and refreshed with the Khan, after which we remounted, and went south-east for three full hours, when we came to the foot of another range of hills, forming the southern boundary of the plain, and going east and west. The hills were here formed of limestone and chalk, with flint imbedded. The ascent on the one side was easy, but the descent on the other was particularly difficult. The mountains here are not so bare as those in Irak Ajami, having stunted trees and brushwood on their sides. Fifty musketeers were stationed here in different parts, to protect the pass. The echo in this part of the mountains was very perfect and loud; the scenery was wild and interesting, especially the view in the valley below. This pass is called Kotel Imaum Zadé, as it leads down to the village of that name, where we did not arrive till sunset, though the distance was said to be only nine fursucks; but all our horses were completely knocked up from the fatigue of ascending and descending these two hills; and the people were also extremely fatigued, from having been obliged to cross over them on foot. The air of this place was warmer than we had found it since leaving Ispahan, arising from the closeness of the valley, and from its being on a lower level than the surrounding country. The Dervish Ismael was charmed with the change; and finding his spirits raised, attributed it to a certain virtue in the earth and water of the place, which he extolled very highly.

At midnight, a courier arrived here from Shiraz, being one of three sent on three different roads to meet the chief, Shuker Ullah Khan. He brought us an account of the Shah Zadé having heard of a large band of Bactiari, from two to three hundred, who were assembled for the purpose of attacking and plundering caravans passing through Fars; and the courier delivered an order of the Prince for Shuker Ullah Khan to bring the whole of this band of robbers to him with all speed. An answer was immediately returned to the Prince, stating the fact of all his horses and men being so worn down by fatigue, that they would not be equal

to the journey among the mountains, until they had enjoyed a day or two's repose, after which, he would fly to execute the wishes of his master. We had a long and interesting conversation on our being thus suddenly parted, and each expressed a hope of meeting again at Shiraz. Notwithstanding the new demand on his force, by the recent order of his Prince, the chief made me an offer of an escort from his party, if I wished it, for the remainder of my way, but I declined it, and determined to proceed alone.

Oct. 21st.—We were not suffered to depart from this station without first breakfasting with the Khan. He expressed his intention of going to Mecca, when he became rich enough to defray the expenses of a journey suited to his rank; and asked of me all the instructions I could give him thereon. I found this somewhat difficult, but I succeeded in satisfying him on all points, and we parted excellent friends.

The village of Imaum Zadé, so called from its containing the domed sepulchre of a certain Ismael, one of the many sons of the many Imaums of Persia, is neat and comfortable, though very small. Its situation, in a deep and narrow valley, shelters it from the keen air of Irak, and it has water and wood in constant supply. The people are more industrious than Persians usually are, and parts of the seemingly inaccessible summits of the limestone mountains on each side of the valley are cultivated and planted with gardens and vineyards. There are the remains of a fine old caravansera in ruins there, so that passengers now take shelter in the villagers' dwellings when they are few in number, and sleep without, if forming a numerous caravan. The dress of the men of Fars is similar to that worn in Irak:—but while the women of the latter envelope themselves in a large blue chequered cloth and white veil, these throw a white handkerchief over their heads, which, falling down the neck, leaves the face quite open.

It was two hours past sun-rise when we set out from Imaum Zadé, our course lying nearly south, through a narrow valley, with

steep cliffy mountains on each side, on the summits of which small gardens were still seen. On each side of our path below, we saw flocks grazing; an abundance of wood, though chiefly small, and of a kind only fit for fuel, but affording a great charm after the bare country we had come through; while a beautifully clear stream meandered along the centre of the valley in the direction of our way, and numerous singing-birds, the voice of which we had not lately heard, saluted us with their early notes. The scenery was exceedingly like some parts of Lebanon, and the air was just that of a Syrian spring.

In about two hours we alighted near a mill, turned by the stream we had just passed; and refreshed ourselves by a halt, reposing both ourselves and horses on the grass turf, beneath the shade of trees. Along the banks of this stream were osiers, willows, date-trees, and briars, bearing the common blackberry of Europe; romantic rocks were seen in several points of view, and the voice of the thrush still charmed us with its rich melody.

From hence we went south-westerly, and in two hours more we reached the station of Moayn, distant from Imaum Zadé three fursucks. This village, which was large, and surrounded with gardens, was also seated in a close valley, and had an agreeable appearance. We found here a large caravan of mules from Shiraz, halting in the open air; but we took shelter ourselves in a half-ruined caravansera, not entirely abandoned.

We had already received instructions about our road to Persepolis, or Takht e Jemsheed, as we had always heard it yet called, from our friend Shuker Ullah Khan; but we enquired here for confirmation, and received the same directions.

Throughout all Persia, but more particularly here in Fars, a custom prevails of giving the salute 'Salam Alaikom,' whenever the first lighted lamp or candle is brought into the room in the evening; and this is done between servants and masters as well as between equals. As this is not practised in any other Mohammedan country, it is probably a relic of the ancient

reverence to Fire, once so prevalent here, though the form of the salute is naturally that of the present religion.

Oct. 22d.—The night was so warm that we preferred sleeping in the open air to remaining in our chambers: and here we had both musquitoes and fleas, neither of which had before annoyed us since our first entrance into Persia. We therefore slept but little; and through impatience of suffering began to prepare for setting out soon after midnight. By the time that the keeper of the khan was roused, our animals fed and saddled, and our morning cup of coffee and pipe enjoyed, the night was far advanced; and when we mounted, it was little more than an hour before daybreak. We continued our course south-westerly, along the main road to Shiraz, between lofty hills on each side; and, as we had been directed, turned off to the south-east, at the distance of about a fursuck from our first station. Our road now went south-south-east, at the foot of a range of hills; and we had in view, in different directions, square masses of mountains broken into perpendicular cliffs on all sides, and looking at a distance like so many citadels. The general features of these mountains, but particularly the manner in which they were shaped into square masses above a steep sloping base, resembled the range on which Mardin is seated in the heart of Mesopotamia.

When we had gone two fursucks from our first turning off the high road, we arrived at an old bridge, of eight or ten arches, the centre one about twenty feet in span, and thirty in height. This was a Mohammedan work, and had been often repaired both with brick and stone, but it was now falling fast to decay, though it was still passable. A rapid stream ran here in a deep bed, and bent its course south-easterly, through the great plain of Merdusht, now open before us.

We descended to repose upon its banks, where our horses found fine fresh grass, and enjoyed all the charms of rapidly running water, verdure, and shade. We were joined here by an old man of a neighbouring village, from whom we learnd that this

stream was the river Bund Ameer, which had its rise in the mountains of Komfirouze, at a distance of ten short days' journeys to the north-west, being the limits of Fars on the borders of the Bactiari. About five years since, he said, it had swelled so high in winter, that it rose over the bridge, which was full fifty feet above its present level, inundated this narrow entrance into the plain, extending from mountain to mountain on each side, and rendered the road impassable for several weeks. For the two last years, however, he added, it had been almost dry, from the general failure of the rains; and indeed it was now easily fordable in the deepest part, though the stream was still running with great force and rapidity.

On our departure from hence, we kept along its north-eastern bank, going about south-east through the plain of Merdushit, which we had now fairly entered through its narrow opening on the north-west. We had several villages in sight, and among others Nisack and Palicon on our right, as well as some Farsee tents on our left; and when we had gone two fursucks from the bridge, we had the whole of the plain open to view before us, with the trees of Futhabad just appearing at the distance of about two fursucks more. The *mirage* was now so strong in the line of the south-eastern horizon, or in nearly the direction of the sun from us, that the remote parts of the plain looked like a lake with wooded islands on it. This appearance is called in Persian *Serab*, or the head or surface of water, and not *Sahrab*, or the water of the desert, as some English writers have supposed; this last word being a compound of Arabic and Persian, but the former being a purely Persian term. The Persians, indeed, having a proper name for the desert in their own language, *Choul*, do not recognize the Arabic term *Saher*, or *Zahara*, at all.

It was about noon when we reached Futhabad, where we found excellent accommodation in an upper room, immediately over the gate of entrance to the village, looking down on the place of

general assembly among the villagers, yet perfectly secure from intrusion. As I had found no opportunity since leaving Yezdikhaust, of noting our progress, from being always with the Khan Shuker Ullah, and as I was yesterday too fatigued to spare that time from rest, I profited by this occasion to preserve my recollections in writing, before they were removed by more interesting ones.

Oct. 23d.—We left Futhabad an hour before daylight, and, going through its eastern gate, went nearly north-north-east over a by-path. In half an hour we passed on our right a small village called Shemsabad, and in another half-hour we passed a second, called Zenghiabad. In less than half an hour more, having several villages in sight as the sun rose, with cultivated land, flocks, trees, and water, we arrived at the foot of the mountain, which forms the northern boundary of the plain of Merdusht. The first object we saw on the west was a small rock, on which stood two fire-altars of a peculiar form: their dimensions were five feet square at the base and three at the top, and they were five feet high. There were pillars or pilasters at the corners, and arches in the sides. In the centre of each of these, on the top, was a square basin, about eighteen inches in diameter, and six in depth, for the reception of the fire, formerly used by the disciples of Zoroaster in their worship.

About three hundred paces to the east of this was a large tablet, on which were two men on horseback, their heads meeting, and the men each holding a ring. They each tread on captives; the breast-cloths of the horses have lions on them, well executed; and inscriptions both in Greek and Sassanian are seen near.*

The tablet on which these sculptures are represented is about

* I copied what little remains of the Greek inscription on the breast of the first horse at this place, as well as the two Sassanian ones, above and below, and others again from the second horse; but as they are too mutilated and imperfect to lead to any useful result, and could only be represented by a separate engraving, they are omitted.

twelve feet high from the ground, and is extremely difficult to get at. The figures are larger than life; they are sculptured in full relief, and are well executed.

Beyond this, a few paces east, is a chief, with a globe on his head, standing, and leaning on a staff. On the right of him are several persons, apparently in Roman dresses; and, on the left, some with helmets, curled beards and hair. The lower parts of the bodies of all these, except the chief, are covered by a blank, left high in the stones; and below the whole is a concave tablet, apparently prepared for an inscription, which was never finished. The design is well executed, but its meaning is not easily discovered.

Beyond this, a few yards further on, are the tombs of the ancient Persian kings. There are three of these facing the south, and one facing the west. The entrance to them is twenty feet high from the ground, and they are nearly all alike in their design: there is, first, a square space, next an oblong one, and then a square above, forming a sort of Greek cross. The lower portion is blank. In the central portion is the door of entrance, with a closed portico of four pillars in front: the capitals have double rams' heads facing outward, and the frieze is decidedly Greek, while the door is perfectly Egyptian in every respect. The upper space has also an Egyptian design—a sort of throne, supported by pillars, with a horned head on each side, and two rows of slaves, who, with extended arms, support the middle. Above is a priest with a bow, standing before an altar of fire; and over all is the sun, or the full moon, with what I should take to be the winged globe of Egypt, but in a stiffer form. Beneath the first tomb is a bas-relief, representing a combat between two horsemen; and opposite to this is a square isolated building, also an ancient tomb. Its entrance on the north, and facing the caves, is midway up its height, or from twelve to fifteen feet from the ground: the masonry of this is excellent, and the stones large; but the whole has a very singular appearance, from the deep

niches cut on the outer surface, and from its having blank windows, of square and oblong forms, let in on three sides, of a black stone, while the edifice is of white. The roof is flat; it is still perfect, and apparently formed of large beams of stone, as in the temples of Egypt. The door was evidently a folding stone door, as used in the tombs of the Jewish kings at Jerusalem, and in the mountains of the Decapolis, judging from the large sills for the pivots, which are still seen in the upper architrave. The entrances to the cave tombs in the rocks were closed.

Between the second and third cave is a figure of a Sassanian monarch on horseback, with a Roman prisoner, supplicating him, in the act of kneeling; and the whole attitude of this supplicant is full of expression: the figures are all larger than life, are executed in high relief, and are extremely well done. Behind this is an inscription of at least one hundred lines in the Sassanian character, which might be easily copied.

Beneath the third tomb is a bas-relief, representing a combat, originally well executed, but now partly defaced. This tomb is also closed; but all the space of the portico behind the pilasters, and the whole of the space not occupied by the figures above, is covered with inscriptions of many hundred lines, in tablets, like those which I saw at the cliff of Bisitoon. Between the third and fourth cave is a bas-relief, in high preservation:—a Sassanian monarch is holding, with his queen, a ring, from which ribbons float: behind them is a soldier, with a Roman helmet, holding up one hand, while the other is placed on his sword. The drapery and dresses of this group are exceedingly well delineated.

The fourth tomb has no additional ornaments; but its front is in higher preservation than any other. They were all inaccessible to us, and could not be got at without ladders or ropes. There are many inscriptions, and some tablets smoothed away for others never cut.

This last tomb, as it stands in a separate mass of rock from the others, and faces to the west, may perhaps be the tomb of

Darius, seated as it is in a double mountain, and more inaccessible than either of the others, though its style is still the same.

We went from hence down to Persepolis, in a southerly direction, and crossed cultivated grounds and canals. In half an hour we passed over the stream of Polwar, which was now very low. It comes from seven or eight fursucks off to the north-east, and goes into the Bund Ameer, close by a small square foundation of a building, called Takht-e-Taous, where Jumsheed is said to have stopped half-way between his palace and Naksh-e-Rustan, to smoke his nargeel and drink coffee. In half an hour more, turning round a rocky point, we came to Chehel Minar, or the Forty Pillars, the only name by which Persepolis is at present known by the Persians,—and so called, because of the pillars being very numerous and resembling the minarets of mosques.

CHAPTER XVII.

VISIT TO THE RUINS OF PERSEPOLIS, AND JOURNEY FROM THENCE TO SHIRAZ.

It is very difficult, without being tedious, to give any detailed account of the ruins of this celebrated place. There is no great temple, as at Thebes, at Palmyra, or at Baalbeck, sufficiently predominant over all surrounding objects to attract the chief attention, and furnish of itself sufficient matter for description and admiration. Here, all is in broken and detached fragments, extremely numerous, and each worthy attention, but so scattered and disjointed as to give no perfect idea of the whole. Its principal feature is, that it presents an assemblage of tall, slender, and isolated pillars, and separate doorways and sanctuaries, spread over a large platform, elevated, like a fortification, from the level of

the surrounding plain, the effect of which is increased by the mountains in the distance. Difficult, however, as is the task of describing such remains in any connected or striking manner, and brief and hurried as was my view of the whole, I shall lay before the reader the notes penned on the spot, from which he will be able probably to form some tolerably accurate idea of the place described; and then follow it by a consideration of some of the ancient descriptions left us of this place, when in its glory, which were also examined on the spot, and there compared with the existing remains.

The natural rock was hewn down to form the platform on which the temple of Persepolis stood, and this platform was then faced round with masonry. There are small quarries of the same stone near it; but the smoothing away of the original rock most probably furnished the greater part of the stone. The facing of the platform is of extremely solid work, the stones being everywhere large and well-hewn; but there is great irregularity in the general form of the whole, and large and small pieces are often let into each other by a sort of dovetailing in the work. The flight of steps for ascending the platform is regular, easy, and of noble appearance. The two entrance-gates were guarded by sphynxes, forming the portals of a sanctuary: these animals are very finely executed, and both their attitudes and the details of their sculpture are excellent. The masonry is also as fine as could be executed at the present day: the blocks are large, closely united, and regular in size and shape; they are of a bluish marble. The two columns now standing erect between these gates of entrance have for their base a plinth, which resembles an inverted lotus flower. The shaft is marked by very shallow flutings, and each pillar is formed of three pieces. This is covered by another inverted lotus flower; and above this rises a capital, like the palm-leaved capital of ancient Egyptian temples. Above this, again, are four scrolls; then a square fluted plinth, with Ionic

volutes; and lastly, above all, a broken mass of some animal resembling a ram.* The general effect of these columns is slender and mean, and very inferior to the Greek or Egyptian. From the fragment of one that lies fallen, it is seen that the several pieces of which they were composed were joined together by a part of the upper piece being let down into a corresponding aperture of the other. There is a square cistern near the columns, built of very large stones, having outside it a good moulding, and high over it a hanging cornice of the Egyptian form.

The great mass of the ruins is on a higher platform above the first. At the sides of the steps ascending to this are sculptured processions, sacrifices, &c. of which Niebuhr has given tolerably faithful drawings. They are all admirably executed, and bear a striking resemblance to similar processions at Thebes and Edfou, in Egypt. Among other resemblances are those of trees, placed to divide men who are near ascending steps, beasts of sacrifice, offerings of meat, cars and horses, armed men, &c. All these sculp-

* Whether this had any astronomical allusion, it is difficult to say. Monsieur Bailly, in his ingenious Letters on Ancient Astronomy, says—'I think I have demonstrated that the Persian Empire and the foundation of Persepolis ascend to 3,209 years before Jesus Christ. (Hist. de l'Astr. Anc. p. 354.) Dreinschid, who built that city, entered it and there established his empire the very day when the sun passes into the constellation of the *Ram*. This day was made to begin the year, and it became the epoch of a period, which includes the knowledge of the solar year of 365 days 6 hours. Here then we again find astronomy coeval with the origin of this empire. The astronomical incident which accompanies the foundation of Persepolis supplied me with the proof of its antiquity. (Vol. i. p. 70.) The letters of the alphabet found at Persepolis do not exceed five; and it is observed that they differ equally by the manner in which they are combined, and in that in which they are placed. So also the Irish characters, called Ogham, consist merely in a unit, repeated five times, and whose value changes according to the way in which it is placed relative to a fictitious line. They have much analogy with those of Persepolis.'—See *Gebelin's Origin de Langues*, p. 506, and *Bailly's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 331.

'The Sabians and early Arabians worshipped the heavenly bodies; and among them the tribe of Beni Koreish were those that kept the temple of Mecca. Koreish is the name given to Cyrus in Scripture, and this signifies the sun in Hebrew, as Cyrus did in Persian, and Khow in Pehlivi.'—*History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 288.

tures are particularly fine, though parts of them are now buried, and other parts broken; and even the portions least injured are discoloured by a thin moss grown over the surface. Horizontal lines of open flowers, like the rose or lotus, are in some places seen dividing the compartments, which is also an Egyptian device.

This portion of the ruins seems to have been a grand open portico, consisting of many rows of columns, supporting only architraves; and below them are oblong blocks, as if for pedestals of sphynxes. The several columns erect are all fluted: some of them being of the same design as those already described; and others, the capitals of which appear to be gone, being much higher in proportion to their diameter.

Above this, on a still higher platform, to the southward, is seen an assemblage of different sanctuaries, which are quite Egyptian in their style. The first of these that we entered was a square of about thirty feet, having two doors on the north, one on the south, two on the west, and one on the east. These are perfectly Egyptian in every respect, as may be seen from the drawings of those that exist: they are composed of three pieces—two portals and an architrave, and above this the cornice. Their inner surfaces are sculptured with designs representing the sacrifices of beasts. The priests have umbrellas held over them as in India, and the guards are armed with spears. Between the doors are monoliths, like those used in Egypt, for keeping the sacred animals, and about the same size. Around these were inscriptions of the arrow-headed character. The gates were closed, not by doors, but by bars only, of which the sills still remain; but both the open and closed monoliths, the first being like mere window-frames, had each folding doors of metal, as the holes for the pivots, both above and below, were too small to afford sufficient strength to stone. Some of these monoliths are quite perfect, and might be easily brought to the British Museum, by way of Bushire. Each of them were highly polished, and one especially appeared to

us to give out as clear a reflection as the finest mirror of glass. It is on these monoliths that the Arabic, Coptic, and Persian inscriptions are deeply cut, and that with so much care as to have required days or weeks in the execution. The proportions of the doors are extremely massive; and their passages are so narrow, as not to admit of two persons passing each other commodiously. They are all of black stone, slightly veined with quartz, and very close-grained. There are also many arrow-headed inscriptions on the portals of these doors, all beautifully cut; and three of this description on each side the great entrance, guarded by the sphynxes below.

Beyond this, a few paces to the south-east, is another similar sanctuary of doors and monoliths. This, however, is larger than the former, and had circular pedestals for six rows of columns of six pillars each, which probably support an open roof, with a central passage for water. This extends to the end of the plat-

* It will be seen that the description given by the earliest travellers of this place was not exaggerated. In Murray's Historical Account of Discoveries in Asia is the following passage:—'Beyond Schiraz, the Ambassador (Garcia de Sylva, from Goa, in 1621) came to the spot called Cilminar, celebrated for the mighty ruins which cover its site—the remains of the ancient Persepolis. They were diligently surveyed by our author, who describes them with an enthusiasm which perhaps betrays him into some degree of exaggeration. He dwells on the superb range of columns, particularly those called the Forty Minarets; the magnificent stairs by which it is ascended; the vast interior square, 430 feet by 310, and the huge pieces of marble, without any apparent juncture. The sculptures were innumerable, and are conceived by him to represent the actions of a race of men, prior to any now known, even to the ancient Babylonians and Persians. Yet, though ascending to this vast antiquity, they are so entire, that, with the exception of a few fragments broken off, they might seem to have been recently finished. In comparing these with the monuments of other nations, he observes, that the pyramids are mere artificial mountains, while the temples of Greece are in ruins: here, only art and grandeur are united in pristine perfection. The high polish of the marble was amusingly shown by a mastiff, who, seeing his own figure reflected on the walls, was worked up to fury, which was always increased by the view of the corresponding gestures in the reflected image; till the same scene being repeated wherever they came, they were at length obliged to chain and send him off.'—*Murray's Historical Account of Travels in Asia*, vol. iii. p. 36, 37.

form on the south-east, which, with the natural rock, is here at an elevation of at least thirty feet from the ground.

Beyond this to the eastward, on a lower platform, is the square of another similar sanctuary, formed of doors and open and closed windows or recesses: these, however, are not monoliths like the others, the sides and architraves being separate pieces, and now half buried in earth.

To the north-east of this, and on a higher level, is a part of the frame of a larger but similar sanctuary, in the middle of which were columns. Three of the gates of this are all that now remain, but these are finer than any before described. Their inner portals are sculptured with representations of priests, some standing with umbrellas held over them, and others sitting on chairs, their feet on footstools, with rows of slaves beneath, supporting the throne on which they sit, as found in the tombs of the Persian kings. Behind the chair is sometimes seen an attendant holding a full-blown lotus flower. Above the head of the priest is the winged globe, perfectly well delineated, over a curtain of fringe between two lines of open flowers; and above all is a circle, with two wings descending, one on each side, and a feathered tail, as of a bird, with a man standing in the centre of the circle, extending the palm of the right hand, and holding in the left a ring.

To the north-east of this, a few paces, is the largest sanctuary of all, but exactly similar to the others in design. The inner portals of the great gate to the west are particularly fine. There are seen five or six rows of warriors, with spears, shields, arrows, quivers, and helmets or dresses of different forms.* A priest sits in a chair above, and holds a lotus flower in one hand, and a long staff in the other, while his foot is placed on a footstool. Before him are two altars of fire, with extinguishers fastened by chains; a man with a round helmet and a short sword addresses the

* Herodotus mentions (§ 102) that the ancient Persians were armed like the Egyptians.

priest; and behind him a female is seen bringing in some offering in a small basket. Above this is the same curtain of network described before, and two friezes of the winged globe in the centre, with three lions on each side guarding it; the two divisions are separated by lines of open flowers. All the male figures were bearded; but they have been wantonly disfigured in this part, probably by bigoted Moslems, who consider every representation of living beings as a breach of the commandment.

The designs of the other gates of this sanctuary represent a priest stabbing a unicorn, and a chief sitting on a chair supported on a throne. Both the winged globe and the lotus are frequently seen, and the whole work is Egyptian in its style. Neither the doors nor the recesses of this sanctuary ever seem to have been closed, as there are no marks of hinges anywhere; nor does it appear to have been ever roofed, though there are fragments of fluted columns lying in the middle.

Above this, at the back of the great temple, and hewn in the rocks, are two large cave-tombs, resembling those at Naksh-e-Rustan in the sculptures of their front; but both of them are at present inaccessible, from the quantity of rubbish accumulated before them.

Remembering that Chardin had mentioned the discovery of mummies in Khorassan, and the ancient Bactriana, and every thing about us reminding me of Egypt, I was curious in enquiring whether any preserved bodies had ever been found near these tombs, but could learn nothing satisfactory on this point. *

* As a proof that great pains were bestowed on the preservation of the bodies of the illustrious dead, among the early Persians, the following cases may be cited:—

Arrian says, that Alexander caused the body of Darius to be transported into Persia, to be buried in the sepulchre of his ancestors, without naming the place, (lib. 3). The same author says, that Alexander learned with mortification that at *Pasagarda* they had opened and pillaged the tomb of Cyrus, which was placed in the park of the castle of that city, surrounded by a wood, and accompanied by fountains and meadows.

Zezdijerd, whose forces were defeated in a memorable battle, became a fugitive, through Seistan, Khorassan, and Meronear, where he was obscurely murdered; but his corpse being discovered, it was afterwards embalmed, and sent to Istakhr, to be interred in the sepulchres

On the north of the whole we saw an isolated gate, like the rest in form, but small, plain, and standing alone, after the manner of those found at Daboat, in Nubia, leading to the temple there.

No marks of fire were any where to be seen about the ruins, nor was there any appearance of either a city or a citadel in any direction about Persepolis.*

According to Oriental tradition, Persepolis was so large as to

of his ancestors; and with him ended the dynasty of the Sassanian kings.—*Hist. of Persia*, vol. i. p. 178.

Pliny, in his Natural History, says, that while the stone called Sarcophagus was said to destroy speedily all bodies interred in it, there was another stone called Chernites, and said to resemble ivory, that had the reputation of keeping and preserving dead bodies from corruption; and it was in a sepulchre or coffin of this stone that the body of Darius the King of Persia was reported to have been laid.—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* b. 36. c. 17.

Issundear, the son of Gashtash, was the first convert made by Zoroaster. The King was also persuaded to follow his example, and ordered twelve thousand cow-hides to be tanned fine, that the precepts of his new faith might be written upon them. These parchments were deposited in a vault hewn out of the rock at Persepolis. Can these be among the supposed tombs here? or at Naksh-e-Rustam?—*Hist. of Persia*, vol. i. p. 58.

* The following Bearings, accurately taken by compass from Persepolis, standing on the Platform of the Great Temple, may be interesting:—

		Fursucks.
Naksh-e-Rustam	N.	¾
Bagh Nuzzur Ali Khan	N.N.W.	½
Zenghi Abad	N.N.W. ¼ W.	1
Istakel-Khallah	N.W. ½ N.	2
Beebee Banoo Imaum Zadé	N.W.	2
Polinoh	N.W. ½ W.	1
Jebel Aioobe	N.W. ½ W.	10
Asfardoo	N.W. by W. ½ W.	2
Ameer Khoskoon	W.N.W.	¼
Bagh Ameer Khoskoon	W. by N.	½
Kooshk	W.	1
Kenarey	S.W.	1
Rushmegoon	S.W. by W.	2
Shemsabad Bolyobaf	S. by W.	3
Gheashek	S. ½ W.	1½
Imaum Zadé	S. by E. ½ E.	1

The Temple of Persepolis fronted due W. by S. ¼ S.

have included all the ruins in the plain of Moorgaub, as well as Istakhr, Merdusht, and the bridge of the Bund Ameer within it.*

Istakhr, or Istakel, was represented to us as a large castle on the mountain, exceedingly difficult of access, built of large stones, having one gate of entrance, but neither columns nor sculpture, and now entirely in ruins.†

Quintus Curtius, after describing the debauch of Alexander, and his destruction of the temple at Persepolis, says that this city, whose forces were sufficient to make Greece tremble, was reduced to a state so deplorable that it was soon abandoned, and but for the Araxes leading to a discovery of its position, the place where it stood would hardly then have been known.‡ The same

* The river which goes through the Plain of Merdusht is called the Kur by Khondemir and some other authors; and the name of Bund Ameer, now applied even by the people of the country to the river itself, was originally given to a dyke over it made by Azad-u-Dowlah, the ruler of Fars and Irak, and Vizier to the Caliph of Bagdad. A. H. 367. A. D. 977.—*Hist. of Persia*, vol. i. p. 309.

† The hill fort of Istakhr was used as a place of confinement to so late a period as A. H. 898. A. D. 1492, when Sultan Ali and his brothers, in the disputes to succession among the early Saffavean devotees, were imprisoned there upwards of four years.—*Hist. of Persia*, v. i. p. 499.

‡ On approaching this city, Alexander is said to have assembled his chiefs, and to have observed to them, that there had never been any city more hostile to the Greeks than Persepolis, the ancient residence of the kings of Persia, and the capital of their empire; that it was from thence came those immense armies which had overrun Greece, and from thence that Darius and Xerxes had brought them to desolate Europe with their wars; and that therefore it was necessary to revenge all those evils upon this city as the source of them. The Persians having already abandoned it, the army of Alexander entered it without opposition, and found there immense treasures surpassing all their former spoils. It was at a feast succeeding the pillage of the city that Thais, a courtezan of Greece, in the midst of the entertainment, exclaimed to the King, 'There never can be an occasion more favourable than the present to acquire and deserve the gratitude of the Greeks, by giving to the flames the Royal Palace of the Persian kings. The nations whose cities the barbarians have abolished will expect from Alexander such an act of justice!' This, says the historian, was the advice of a courtezan, and of one who was intoxicated; nevertheless, it was no sooner given than the King arose, and was followed by his guests, who, still heated with wine, exclaimed, 'Revenge for Greece! —Destruction to Persepolis!' The King was the first to throw his torch, his officers followed, and the concubines. The palace was built chiefly of cedar, and the destruction was so

Quintus Curtius, however, also says, that Alexander spared the citadel, and left there a governor with a garrison of 3000 Macedonians.

Diodorus Siculus describes a grand sacrifice which Pencestes, Satrap of Persepolis, offered to the Gods, among the number of which he counted Alexander and Philip, and mentions afterwards the magnificent entertainment which he gave to the whole army of Eumenes.* The existence of a Satrap here, would therefore lead to the inference of its continuing to be, even after Alexander's wanton destruction of the temple, the seat of a native governor.

The second book of the Maccabees gives a proof of its being a considerable place as far down as one hundred and sixty years after Alexander's time, as it is there said, (chap. ix.) that Antiochus Epiphanes, King of Syria, formed the design of pillaging the temple and the city of Persepolis, which must have been supposed, at least, to have contained sufficient wealth to reward the enterprise of a monarch already sufficiently rich.†

The existence of the Arabic inscriptions, so long and so carefully executed, is assumed also as a proof of the city being peopled even down to that period; as no voyager, it is said, could have

complete, that but for the Araxes, which ran near it, pointing out its site, not a vestige of it could be found, and that to this time it had never been restored.'—*Quint. Curt.* lib. v. c. 6. 7.

* The historian describes the governor as sending almost over all Persia for beasts to be sacrificed, and abundance of all other provisions necessary for a festival and public solemnity, on the grandest scale.—*Diod. Sic.* lib. xix. c. 2.

† 'Antiochus, attempting to rob the Temple of Jupiter, in Elymais, there received a just overthrow, with the loss of his life, and ruin of his whole army.'—*Fragments of Diod.* lib. xxvi. s. 23; 1 *Maccabees*, c. vi. v. 1—3.

'King Antiochus being in want of money, and hearing there were vast treasures of gold and silver, and other precious jewels, of offerings made in the Temple of Jupiter Belus, in Elymais, resolved to rifle it. Coming, therefore, into the province of Elymais, and pretending that the inhabitants of that place had raised a war against him, he robbed the temple, and got together a great sum of money; but in a short time after, the gods executed vengeance upon him for his sacrilege.'—*Frag.* lib. xxvi. s. 34.

either the conveniences or the leisure to execute such works in an uninhabited place.

It is thought that the ruined edifice at Persepolis is a temple of the ancient Persians, and that its sculptured subjects, as well as style of architecture, resemble, in many particulars, that of Egypt. Among these may be numbered the figures divided by trees,* the sphynxes, vases, and chairs, the doors and architraves, subterranean passages in the tombs, sarcophagi and urns, and a square well twenty-five feet deep and fifteen square. The sculpture at Persepolis was also painted, mostly in blue, a favourite colour of Egypt, but sometimes in black and in yellow. Le Brun counted thirteen hundred figures of men and animals, the half of which were large as life, without including those on the tombs; and he counted the fragments of no less than two hundred and five columns.

The opinion of these ruins being the remains of the palace burnt by Alexander, is founded only on the assertion of Quintus Curtius. Diodorus Siculus, (lib. xvii.) says that Alexander, assembling his Macedonian followers, observed to them that Persepolis, the capital of Persia, and the seat of its kings, had been always the most distinguished city in Asia for its enmity to the Greeks, and that he therefore abandoned it to their pillage, excepting only from violation the palace of the King.†

* It would appear from a passage of Justin, that there was formerly much wood about this place, as in the mention he makes of the stratagem of a letter being conveyed from Harpagus to Cyrus in a hare's belly, and of the messengers arriving safe with it to the city of Persepolis, he says:—'The people being there called together, he commanded all of them to be ready with their hatchets to cut down the wood that did shut up the way; which when they had cheerfully performed, he invited them on the next day to a dinner.'—*Justin*, lib. i.

† The following is the description given by Diodorus Siculus of the destruction of this city:—'When Alexander marched from Babylon against Persepolis, on approaching it he met a large company of Grecians, who had been made prisoners by the Persians, and most inhumanly mangled and disfigured, by the cutting off their hands, their feet, their ears, their noses, and which excited the indignation of the monarch, and drew from him both tears of commiseration and more substantial proofs of his bounty. When Alexander had,' says the historian,

According to Arrian, it was the castle of Persepolis which Alexander burnt; but the ruins here in no way correspond with the description of the castle, as given by Diodorus. This castle was encompassed by three walls, the outer one constructed with immense expense, sixteen cubits high, and accompanied by all that could contribute to strengthen it as a defence. The second was like the first, but double its height. The third, or inner one, was of a square form, sixty cubits high, and constructed of so hard a stone, and in such a way, as to fit it to endure for centuries. Each side of this square had gates of brass and palisades of the same metal, of twenty cubits high, for their defence; the sight of which was alone sufficient to inspire terror in those who advanced to attack it.*

'according to his natural goodness and innate generosity, comforted these poor miserable people, he then called the Macedonians together, and told them that Persepolis, the metropolis of the kingdom of Persia, of all the cities of Asia, had done most mischief to the Grecians; and therefore he gave it up to the plunder and spoil of the soldiers, except the King's palace. This was the richest city of any under the sun; and for many ages all the private houses were full of all sorts of wealth; and whatever was desirable.

'The Macedonians therefore, forcing into the city, put all the men to the sword, and rifled and carried away every man's goods and estate, amongst which was abundance of rich and costly furniture, and ornaments of all sorts. In this place were hurried away, here and there, vast quantities of silver, and no less of gold, great numbers of rich garments, some of purple, and others embroidered with gold; all which became a plentiful prey to the ravenous soldiers. For though every place was full of rich spoil, yet the covetousness of the Macedonians was insatiable, still thirsting after more. And they were so eager in plundering, that they fought one with another with drawn swords, and many who were conceived to have got a greater share than the rest, were killed in the quarrel. Some things that were of extraordinary value they divided with their swords, and each took a share. Others, in rage, cut off the hands of such as laid hold of a thing that was in dispute.

'They first ravished the women as they were in their jewels and rich attire, and then sold them for slaves. So that, by how much Persepolis excelled all the other cities in glory and worldly felicity, by so much more was the measure of their misery and calamity.'— Lib. xvii. c. 8.

* 'This stately fabric, or citadel, was surrounded by a treble wall. The first was sixteen cubits high, adorned by many sumptuous buildings and aspiring turrets: the second was like to the first, but as high again as the other: the third was drawn like a quadrant, four square, sixty cubits high, all of the hardest marble, and so cemented as to continue for ever. On the four sides are brazen gates; near to which are gallowses of brass, twenty cubits high: thees

The ruins now seen, correspond neither with those of a palace nor a castle; and are not those, therefore, of the edifice burnt by Alexander. On all these remains, no mark of fire is to be traced, which could not have been the case if this had been the principal agent used in its destruction. Plutarch, in his Life of Alexander, remarks that after the burning of the Temple of Diana, at Ephesus, it was necessary to scrape the parts that had resisted the fire, which took away so much from them as visibly to alter their proportions; so that the marks of fire would be as difficult to remove here, if they had ever existed.

There are appearances at Persepolis of five different buildings united in one, and each apparently of a different age, after the manner of the Egyptians.

The books of the Maccabees, already cited, say, in the first, that there was a rich temple at Persepolis; and, in the second, that Antiochus Epiphanes determined to pillage it. Alexander therefore could not have destroyed it; for it is highly improbable, from the history of those times, that so laboured and magnificent a work should have been rebuilt and restored in the short period between Alexander and the Syrian king. The Macedonian conqueror, it is true, might have pillaged it, and the celebrity of the divinity there adored might have drawn to it again a new fund of treasures. The historian of the Maccabees seems indeed more occupied about the temple than the city, as an object of much higher importance.

Diodorus and Justin agree in saying that Antiochus Epiphanes having learnt that a temple of Belus, in the province of Elymaïs,

raised to terrify the beholders, and the other for the better strengthening and fortifying of the place. On the east side of the citadel, about four hundred feet distant, stood a mount, called the Royal Mount, for here are all the sepulchres of the kings; many apartments and little cells being cut into the midst of the rock, into which cells there is made no direct passage; but the coffins with the dead bodies are by instruments hoisted up, and so let down into these vaults. In this citadel were many stately lodgings, both for the King and his soldiers, of excellent workmanship, and treasury chambers most conveniently contrived for the laying up of money.'—*Diod. Sic.* lib. xvii. c. 8.

(which was the Jewish name for this place, from their name of the country of Persia, Elam,) contained a great treasure, he entered it during the night and carried off all its riches.*

Others assert that this temple was consecrated to Diana. Tacitus (Ann. 3. c. 62.) says that there was a temple of that goddess in Persia; and Strabo adds, that one of the Parthian kings carried off from it two thousand talents, and that the temple was called *Zara*.† All these authorities prove, that there was at Persepolis, long after Alexander's time, a famous temple; and the ruins seen here at the present day may be well those of that edifice, composed perhaps of several temples dedicated to different divinities on the same spot.‡

Chardin thinks that two centuries were requisite to complete the works seen at Persepolis; and M. Le Comte de Caylus is of the same opinion. He gives them an antiquity of four thousand

* The Elamitæ of Arrian and Nearchus are the Elamites of the Scriptures. It is the Temple of Jupiter Belus in Elymais which Antiochus the Great is said to have plundered, and where he lost his life. A temple of Bel, or Baal, it might be; but Jupiter is the addition of the Greeks.—*Vincent's Commerce of the Ancients*, (note,) vol. i. p. 416.

† Le Clerc, in his criticism on Quintus Curtius, says, 'It is to me a very great wonder that the true and ancient name of the capital city of the Persian Empire should be every where suppressed, and the Greek appellation of Persepolis substituted in its place; not only by Quintus Curtius, but by all other ancient authors; by which means it is absolutely lost. Christopher Cellarius was of opinion that the name thereof was *Elam*, which is עֵילָם, in his notes to that chapter of Curtius: for the country adjacent to it was named Elamais, and so was the city too by the author of the Maccabees. But I dare not subscribe to his judgment; and if I might be allowed to declare my mind freely, I should own my satisfaction in the conjecture of Sir John Chardin, who, in his *Itinerarium Persicum*, thinks it was called Fars-abad, or Pars-abad, which is the habitation of the Persians; for it is unquestionable that the Persians called themselves פרס Pharas, and אבד *Abad* signifies a habitation,—which now is often substituted in the composition of such names of towns in the Persian language.'—*Rooke's Arrian*, c. 6, s. 10. vol. i. p. 39.

‡ The following is the description given by Diodorus Siculus of the destruction of the particular temple burnt down by Alexander. 'Here (at Persepolis) Alexander made a sumptuous feast for the entertainment of his friends in commemoration of his victory, and offered magnificent sacrifices to the gods. At this feast were entertained women who prostituted their bodies for hire; where the cups went so high, and the reins so let loose to drunkenness and debauchery, that many were both drunk and mad. Among the rest there was at that time a courtezan named Thais, an Athenian, who said Alexander would perform the most glorious

years, but merely from conjecture, without any historical foundation. The Count, however, thinks they cannot be attributed to the Persians before Cyrus, as Herodotus describes the Persians of that age as a people of great simplicity, having neither temples nor altars, but worshipping Jupiter on the summits of the highest mountains. Cyrus himself was occupied with his foreign conquests, and his religious impressions were simple and austere, conformable to his own education and the manners of his country; besides which, when he was in a condition to make such vast expenditure as these works required, Persepolis was no longer the royal city, but Suza, Ecbatana, and Babylon, became the residence of him and his successors.

Diodorus (lib. 11.) informs us, that Cambyses, son of Cyrus, conquered Egypt in the third year of the seventy-third Olympiad, when he pillaged the country and burnt the temples, the trea-

act that ever he did, if, while he was feasting with them, he would burn the palace, and so the glory and renown of Persia might be said to be brought to nothing in a moment by the hands of women. This spreading abroad and coming to the ears of the young men, (who commonly make little use of reason when drink is in their heads,) presently one cries out, 'Come on, bring us firebrands!' and so incites the rest to fire the citadel, to revenge that impiety the Persians had committed in destroying the temples of the Grecians. At this, others with joy set up a shout, but said so brave an exploit belonged only to Alexander to perform. The King, stirred up at these words, embraced the motion; upon which, as many as were present left their cups, and leaped from the table, and said, that they would now celebrate a victorious festival to Bacchus. Hereupon, multitudes of firebrands were presently got together, and all the women that played on musical instruments which were at the feast were called for; and then the King, with songs, pipes, and flutes, bravely led the way to this noble expedition, contrived and managed by this courtezan Thais, who next after the King threw the first firebrand into the palace. This precedent was presently followed by the rest; so that in a very short time the whole fabric, by the violence of the fire, was consumed to ashes. It is very observable (adds the historian) and not without just admiration, that the sacrilege and impiety of Xerxes, King of Persia, (exercised in his destroying the citadel of Athens,) should so many years after be revenged in the same kind by one courtezan only of that city that was so injured.'—*Diod. Sic.* lib. 17. c. 8.

Arrian says that Alexander burned the royal palace of the Persian monarch much against the will of Parmenio, who entreated him to leave it untouched, not only because it was improper to spoil and destroy what he had gained by his valour, but that he would thereby disoblige the Asiatics, and render them less benevolent to him; for they would then suppose he would not keep Asia in his possession, but abandon it as soon as it was conquered and laid waste.

sures of which the Persians carried off into Asia, where they led away with them the workmen and architects of Egypt, whom they caused to build the famous palace of Persepolis, of Susa, and of several other cities. If, then, there be any vestiges of striking resemblance to Egyptian architecture in the ruins of Persepolis now, we may safely fix on this period for its construction by these captive workmen so brought away.

The difficulties against this supposition are not insurmountable. It is true that Cambyses himself, who is said to have died at Ecbatana, on Mount Carmel, in Syria, (Herod. l. 3,) could neither have begun nor finished these works in person, as he did not return home after his conquests; but his representatives in Persia might have done so in his absence after the arrival of the Egyptian workmen. Darius, the son of Hystaspes, who succeeded him, might have completed them.

Cicero says, that Xerxes, his son, at the instigation of the

To which Alexander made answer, that he was resolved to revenge the ancient injuries his country had received by the Persians, who, when they arrived with the army in Greece, subverted Athens, burned their temples, and committed many other barbarous devastations there.' —*Rooke's Arrian*, lib. 3. c. 18.

In a note on this the translator says, 'The burning of Persepolis, Curtius has given us at large, (l. 5. c. 7.) and affirms that Thais, a noted harlot, was the first proposer of setting it on fire. Plutarch gives us an account of Thais, but he tells it as a story which in all likelihood he gave little credit to. That the royal palace there was set on fire, none doubt; and that it was done by design, all authors agree; but the story of Thais is delivered as a truth by none but himself and Diodorus (c. 17.) Curtius adds, that no less than one hundred and twenty thousand talents in money were found there (l. 5. c. 6. 9); though Plutarch seems not to allow this booty in money to be richer than the former at Susa; but adds, that of other movables and treasures there were seized as much as a thousand pair of mules and five hundred camels could well carry away (Vide Plut. Steph. p. 24). That the name of Persepolis was given this place by the Greeks, is unquestionable. Curtius is guilty of a gross error (lib. 5. c. 7. 9.), in saying, that 'the city of Persepolis was so far from being rebuilt, that unless the river Araxes ran near it, there are not left the least signs to guess where it stood,' &c. Yet, neither Arrian nor Strabo, nor even Diodorus, whom Curtius commonly copies, acquaints us with the burning of any thing but the royal palace.'

Strabo accords with Arrian in his account of the destruction of Persepolis (except that he mentions nothing of Thais). The story of this courtezan persuading Alexander to burn the palace, is from Clitarchus.—*Athenæus*, lib. 13. c. 5.

Magi, set fire to the temples of Greece, on the principle that the universe was the Temple of the Gods, who required not to be confined within walls (De Leg. l. 2. and 10.) But though this might have been done in the career of his expedition against a distant country, the labours of his predecessors might in the mean time have been untouched at home.

The period between Xerxes and Alexander, being 130 years, has been thought too short for such a work as the edifices, subterranean passages, tombs, &c. of Persepolis; but if these were the work of the captive Egyptians sent over by Cambyses, the difficulty vanishes, and there is then ample time for the whole to have been completed at the time of the Macedonian conquest of Persia.*

The *final ruin* and desertion of Persepolis is said not to have happened till so late as the year 982 of the Christian era—or 372 of the Hejira, in the time of Sumeareh ud Dowla, the unworthy son of a virtuous and victorious father. Its desolation is now complete.

At noon I quitted the ruins of Persepolis, with mingled feelings of satisfaction and regret. We now went south-west over the plain, on our way to Zenghoor, which was said to be five fursucks off, intending to reach there to-night, and make a short stage to Shiraz to-morrow. The constant impediment of canals, and their dry beds, occasioned us to wander about for a long time, and El Assr was passed before we gained the village of Kenarry. Here we found that the usual road had been closed up by culture extending across it, and the ground was now covered with verdure. We turned therefore for Kooshk, and were so impeded here, that we did not reach it till near sunset, our horses and ourselves being quite knocked up. As neither shelter nor corn was to be had at this place, we went north-west about a fursuck, and found both, in a walled village called Dehbid, where we halted.

* See the Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres; Mémoire sur Persepolis, par le Comte Caylus; De la Croix's Critical Examination of the Life of Alexander; and the Dabistan, translated from the Persian.

Oct. 24th.—We left Dehbid two hours before daylight, as we had a long stage to perform; but from the intersection of the roads by dry beds of canals, we wandered considerably from a straight course, and our progress was proportionably retarded. When the day broke, we crossed the Bund Ameer by a lofty but now nearly ruined bridge. The river's bed was deep, the stream rapid, and flowing to the south-east through the plain. This was called, by the natives, Pola Khan. The Bund Ameer was the Araxes of the ancients, though not that which led into the Caspian Sea, as this goes into the Persian Gulph. It was formerly within the city of Persepolis.

In little more than an hour, passing over a fine small plain covered with flocks and tents, we came to the large village of Zerraghoon, seated at the foot of a steep mass of rock, with thatched houses and sloping roofs. We halted at a caravansera here, for two hours, to repose, and set out again about noon; after which we got into a rugged country of bare hills and uninteresting aspect.

About four o'clock we came to a small place called Rader Khoneh, where a fine new caravansera was building at the foot of a steep hill. In an hour more, passing over rugged roads, we drank at the small stream of Ruknabad, so celebrated by Hafiz and Sir William Jones, which furnishes the best water to Shiraz; and in another hour we came in sight of the city itself.

The first approach to Shiraz is interesting, as the view is sudden; and the town appears to burst on the traveller from a fine plain below, partly seen through a romantic opening of the hills.

We descended here through a formerly fortified pass, called 'Tenga Allah Ackbar.' After this, we passed through a fine old gate, which has been drawn by Le Brun, and from which is a very beautiful view of the great road to Shiraz: this gate is now in ruins. Going along a broad road, we had on our right the new gardens and palace of the Shah Zadé, and the Takht-e-

Kudjer, another royal seat; and on our left the Bagh-e-Vakeel, Hafizeea, Dervishes, gardens, &c.—forming altogether a beautiful prospect. Further on, we passed the fine tomb of Shah Ameer Hamza, son of the Imaum Moosa; and crossing a bridge over the dry bed of a river, we entered Shiraz before dark. We were detained inside the gateway, and strict enquiries were made whether I was a Moslem or not. It was at length concluded that I was a Chaoush, or Reis el Zuwar, a chief of pilgrims, which was sufficient to ensure safety and respect.

I went straight from hence to the house of Jaffier Ali Khan, an Indian nobleman, to whom I had letters; but the servants representing me to their master, who was inside, as an Arab Sheikh, he did not know my real condition; and as it was now late, we were desired to call to-morrow. We accordingly went, and found a good room in the Caravansera Hindoo, where all the Indians who are not Moslems generally put up at Shiraz.

CHAPTER XVIII.

STAY AT SHIRAZ, AND VISIT TO THE PRINCIPAL PLACES OF THAT CITY.

Oct. 25th.—At an early hour this morning, I received a visit at the caravansera from the Prince Jaffier Ali Khan, who invited us to take up our quarters at his house, in one of the best parts of Shiraz. This being accepted, I repaired with him to the Hamam-e-Vakeel, which was the finest bath I had yet seen in Persia. It resembled generally that at Kermanshah, but was much larger, and more ornamented. During our conversation here, I heard a Mohammedan describing to his friend, that Friday was set aside as a day of public prayer by Mohammed, because Christ, the Roah Ullah, or Soul of God, was crucified on that day; and this, it appears, is the tradition received by many. The same individual also

said that the Persians stained their beards, as a peculiar mark of their being Sheeahs; for though Imam Ali did not stain his, yet one of his immediate descendants did,—and this, he thought, was a sufficient precedent for the use of this as a distinguishing mark from the Soonnees, who do not generally follow this practice.

After the bath, we were conducted to the house of Jaffier Ali Khan, by a train of servants who had been sent to attend us; and on our arrival there a separate portion of his residence was appropriated to our own use, with accommodation for our horses, and a small private garden for retirement and repose. We all breakfasted together after the manner of the country, and passed the whole of the day in agreeable conversation on subjects connected with Persia. In the evening we were visited by three of Jaffier's particular friends, who, he said, were among the few of the old and respectable members of the community that remained in Shiraz, where, as throughout all Persia, the general corruption of the government has led to the elevation of the lowest characters to the highest offices of the state, and the consequent oppression and persecution of the heads of all the older and more respectable families.

After supper, chess followed, at which the greater number of the party played skilfully; and during the game, the conversation turned on a late affair which had excited considerable attention at Shiraz. A captain in the English navy, and a Civilian of the East India Company's service, who had come up from Bushire on a visit to Shiraz, were lodged in one of the villas and gardens of the Governor during their stay here; when, one evening, some young persons of distinction belonging to the Persian court, having drunk deeply, went there at a late hour to ask for more wine. The request was refused, and very warm language passed on both sides. On the following morning, however, the Persians, sensible of their fault, went in a body to ask pardon of the English gentlemen. A reconciliation was soon brought about; and the principal offender advanced to embrace the young civilian, and kiss his fore-

head, after the Persian fashion. The Englishman being ignorant, however, of this custom of the country, took this familiarity for an intended violation of his person, and became more angry than before. It was therefore represented to the Prince, who was then the Governor of Shiraz, that these young Persian courtiers had a second time come in a body to insult the English guests. The Prince, without farther enquiry, and upon this mere representation, gave up the offenders, though all of them were young men high in his service, to be punished with death, or such other tortures as the English gentlemen might at their discretion command. They were even brought into the public place of execution, in pursuance of this sentence,—were there stripped, tied up, and rods prepared for flogging them; when, at the moment of the punishment being about to commence, they were released by order of the naval captain and his young friend, who expressed themselves perfectly satisfied with this measure of justice, without proceeding further. The Persians, however, knowing that the whole affair originated in a misconception, from ignorance of their manners, were very indignant at the punishment having proceeded so far.

Oct. 26th.—Being attended by a servant of Jaffier Ali as a guide, we went out to-day to see some of the principal places in the town, and paid our first visit to the Musjid-No, an old mosque, now so much ruined, as to be scarcely more than a spacious square-court, with fountains, benches for praying on, &c. We next went to the Musjid Jumah, the most ancient perfect mosque in the city, being upwards of eight hundred years old.* There was, however, a square building in the court before it, fast going to ruins: the columns had diamond-cut pedestals in the Indian fashion, fluted shafts, and Arabic capitals; the whole of these were of marble, and of better proportions than usual, approaching nearly to the Doric in the relation between the dia-

* The memory of Atta Beg Saad is to this day held in great respect at Shiraz. He surrounded that city by a wall, and built the Musjid Jumah, or chief mosque, which still remains.—*Hist. of Persia*, vol. i. p. 388.

meter and height. A pedestal of an inverted lotus flower, fully opened, was shown us here, standing by itself, and exactly like the pedestals of the columns at Persepolis, from which it was no doubt brought; as the ruins of that city or temple are said to have been employed in the structure of Shiraz, which was founded in the seventy-sixth year of the Hejira under the Ommiades. In the mosque itself is a fine old niche for prayer, with a rich pointed arch over it, and the words 'Bismillah-el-Rakhman-el-Rakheem,' &c. written around it in Cufic characters, in high relief. The decorations of this arch are exuberant, but they are all well-disposed: the ground-work is formed of clusters of grapes and vine leaves,—a very singular combination for a Mohammedan sanctuary; and over the concave part of the roof is a large stem disposed into three branches, with a full-blown lily at the end of the central one, and a half blown one at the end of the other two. A wooden flight of steps leads to a pulpit near, which is equally old; and over it, among the full-carved work of the back part, is the confession of faith, 'La Illah ul Ullah, oua Mohammed el Roosool Ullah.' The conquest of Persia by Tamerlane was celebrated in this mosque; and though at present in a very ruined and imperfect state, it was long the first in Shiraz. The whole wears an appearance of much greater antiquity than the Mohammedan era.

From hence we went to the Musjid Wakeel, which is the most modern, and reckoned to be the best mosque in Shiraz. It was begun by Kerim Khan, but was never completely finished, and it still remains in an incomplete state. Its entrance faces a broad way, which connects it with the great square, leading to the Ark, or Citadel, and the Prince's residence; so that its situation is imposing. Within the gate of entrance is a large square court, with piazzas around it, and a long reservoir of water in the centre. It was now filled with soldiers preparing to appear before the Prince, and with men in every stage of decrepitude, halt, blind, and lame, preparing to ask alms. The mosque

within is one large hall, unusually low, and its roof formed of a succession of vaulted coves. The points of these are supported by marble columns, of which there are four rows of twelve each. These are without pedestals, and the shaft and capital of each is one piece of white marble. The shafts are spirally fluted, though beginning and ending in a straight line: the capital swells upward like an inverted bell; and between two astragals, at the top and bottom of the capital, are arranged perpendicular leaves, like those of a spreading palm, sculptured in relief. There is here a flight of steps going up to the oratory of the priests; the whole flight being formed of one entire block of Tabreez marble, finely wrought and beautifully polished. Some parts of the roof or ceiling, and the wall about the niche of prayer, have been tiled, but the rest remains bare; and while the sculptured marble slabs of the surbasement of the outer court appear as fresh as if finished yesterday, the coloured tiling of the arches above is already falling to decay, and no repairs are even spoken of as intended. Though this is considered to be the most beautiful mosque at Shiraz, it is not to be compared with either of the principal ones at Ispahan.

After quitting this, we went to the Shah Cheragh, the tomb of one of the sons of Imam Moosa, — Shah being a name given to Fakeers and Dervishes, or holy persons distinguished for their piety or their wisdom, as well as to kings. In the centre of this place is a large and lofty edifice covered by a dome, a fine tomb of wrought silver in open work, like the tomb in Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster Abbey, with folding-doors; the bars of silver used in this grating work being an inch in circumference. Around the tomb are tablets covered with fine Arabic writing; and on the tomb itself are offerings of silver vessels, with a highly embellished copy of the Koran. We each kissed the corners of this with great devotion; the omission of which mark of respect would have been dangerous. The carpets around this tomb were painted; and rich gilding was used on the ceiling

of the roofs and the walls. This place received a constant succession of visitors, each of whom generally left a small sum with the Moollah at the door, who was employed, when we passed him, in writing Arabic sentences on handkerchiefs of white cotton for sale. As I wore the Arab dress, I was saluted as a Hadjee, or Pilgrim, and paid much greater respect than I expected, considering the hatred which the Persians generally bear to the sect of the Soonnees and all its adherents.

The Bazaar-el-Wakeel was the part of Shiraz that we next visited. This is long, large, and lofty, in the style of the best bazaars at Ispahan, and is quite equal to any of them. It was now filled with shops, all excellently furnished. Some of the smaller bazaars have a raised causeway or pavement of flag-stones on each side, and in the centre a deep space for camels or beasts of burthen. The dealers expose their wares on high benches, where also sit the Serafs, or money-changers, with their strong chests of silver and copper coins for changing on commission.

The Bazaar-No, or New Bazaar, is not yet completed. It is inferior only to the Bazaar-el-Wakeel, and is distinguished by the most fantastic paintings of battles, &c. All the monsters of the fabulous ages are here realized, and draw crowds of gazers. Nadir Shah, Shah Abbas, and Futteh Ali Shah, have their portraits among them—either engaged in war, or beholding barbarous executions. The loves of Shirine and Ferhad are depicted in other compartments, and the variety is without end. This is not yet complete.

The Kaisereah-Koneh-Khan, which was once one of the largest and oldest caravanseras in Shiraz, is now entirely in ruins, exhibiting only a large octagonal frame-work to show what the edifice once was, the inner space being now built upon by smaller houses. When perfect, however, it must have been a very fine edifice.

In passing homeward, we went by the Ark, or Citadel,—a large square enclosure of high walls, with round towers at each end, and surrounded by a ditch. Near this is the great square,

in which the public executions take place; and at the arched entrance, opposite to the great mosque of the Wakeel, we were shown the wooden pins at which men are suspended by the heels when they are beheaded, and then cut down in halves like a sheep by the knife of the butcher. Fresh blood was here shown us upon the wall; and we were taken into a prison, where several men lay in chains for execution on the following morning.

Oct. 27th.—We extended our excursion to places without the walls of the town to-day, and, still having one of the Khan's servants for a guide, we went out of the northern gate of the town by a wide road, and, after about a mile's ride, came to the garden and royal seat called Takht-e-Kudjur, or throne of the Kudjur. On an eminence of rock, at the foot of the mountain, is built a neat pleasure-house, which commands a fine view of the plain, and the town of Shiraz bearing directly south of it. The interior decorations of the chief apartments are rich and varied, and consist of painting and gilding in the Persian style. There are smaller apartments adjoining; an open paved court with a fountain behind; and a fine large garden in front, thickly covered with trees, among which the cypress is predominant. In the centre of this was a place called Koola Frangi, or Frank's hat, from a resemblance to it in shape. It stood in the middle of a large piece of water, and served as the elevated stage of a fountain. This place was built by Aga Mohammed Khan, the eunuch King, and first of the Kudjurs who ascended the throne—from whence it derives its name.*

From hence, about half a mile eastward, we came to a new garden and palace, now building by the Shah Zadé, and called Bagh-No. In the way, we saw on our left, high on the mountain

* The Takht-e-Kudjur, at Shiraz, was built by the present family of Persia on the site of one called Takht Karrajah, built by the fifth Alla-Beg, the founder also of a college there.—*Hist. of Persia*, v. i. p. 386.

The Turkish tribe of Kudjur were brought from Syria to Persia by Timoor.—*Ibid.* v. ii. p. 125.

brow, the tomb of Sheikh Baba Bund Baz, who was a Persian poet; and a little below it another, with gardens, of Sheikh Ali Baba, also a poet: but being unbelievers, or philosophers, their works are disregarded and scarce. The Bagh-No, or new garden, promises to be very fine when completed. After passing an outer building in the centre of its south-west front, in which are upper and lower rooms for servants or visitors, it opens on an extensive and beautiful garden, now filled with fruit-trees and flowers in full bloom. In the centre of this, a double walk, with a canal between each, of not less than one thousand feet long, leads up to the principal edifice. As the ground rises here on a gentle ascent, there are about twenty high steps, with little cascades passing from one to the other, the marble being cut like the scales of fish, to improve the effect of the waterfall; and small pillars are placed through all the length of the canal, with holes in them for water-spouts to issue from. At the end of this walk is a fine piece of water, of an octagonal form, occupying nearly the whole space in front of the palace, and seated on an elevated pavement, in the centre of which it stands. As this was now full to the brim, it formed a beautiful sheet of water, and reflected the whole of the building, as in the clearest mirror. The palace is neat, without being so gorgeously magnificent as those at Ispahan; and its interior decorations are nearly in the same style, though of inferior execution. The portraits of Futteh Ali Shah and his several sons hold a distinguished place here. Many of the great men of the court have their portraits also preserved in this place. In one compartment of a large painting, the present King of Persia is represented in a battle with the Russians, over whom he is of course victorious. The Russian troops are dressed in red, in the European fashion, and marshalled in close ranks; while the Persians are in the utmost disorder, which is characteristic of the custom of each nation. In the chief compartment of the centre, the King is seated on a rich throne, surrounded by his great men, and is receiving a present from an European ambassador, followed

by his suite. These are known chiefly by their blue eyes and yellow hair; but their dresses are so oddly portrayed, that it is not easy to determine for the people of what Frank nation they were intended. There are two columns supporting the open part of this principal hall, of the same style as those in the palaces at Ispahan, and, like them, cased with mirrors in a fancy frame-work; but the columns are in much better proportions, being of greater diameter compared to their height, though still more slender than the Corinthian or the Composite. The apartments for the females in this palace are above, and are much the same as we had seen in other Persian edifices of state. The Bagh-No is close to the left of the road leading to Ispahan, and about half a mile to the north-east of the town.

Almost opposite to this, on the north of the road, and less than a furlong distant, is another large garden, formerly called the Bagh-e-Vakeel, from its having been built by Kurreem Khan, but now called Bagh Jehan Newah. To this we next directed our steps, leaving on our left, at some distance, the Teng-e-Allah-Ackbar. This garden is smaller than the former, but also has a house over the front gate, with some neat and richly decorated apartments, and its chief building within. This last, however, is in the centre of the garden, with walks leading from it in several directions. It is of an octagonal form, and its rooms are very small, as if intended for an arbour, or place of temporary retirement only. In its original state, it was richly adorned, and the surbasement of the interior is of Tabreez marble, finely polished; but it is suffered to fall into decay, being entirely neglected,—so much is it the fashion here to abandon old establishments to their ruin, and then to lavish great expense in rearing new ones. The cypresses of Shiraz are among the largest I remember to have seen any where, except at Smyrna, and in the valley between Mardin and Diarbekr, in both of which places they are taller and fuller. These are, however, very beautiful, and from their number and regularity give great nobleness of appearance to the place. It was this garden which

was given to the naval captain and the young Indian civilian by the Shâh Zadé, and it was here that the quarrel and misunderstanding already described arose.

The tomb of Hafiz is within a few yards of this, to the south, and nearer the town; but we left this for our route of return.

From the Bagh-e-Vakeel we went to the Chehel-ten, a garden in which forty Dervishes are buried; and their plain graves, without a stone or an inscription, are shown there, arranged along the south-eastern wall, in a double row of twenty each. In another corner is a very old tomb of Khaloo Sheikh Saadi, or the brother of the poet Saadi's mother, who must have been buried nearly six hundred years; and it was for his sake, he being a Dervish, that this place is said to have been built. The small tomb erected over him is nearly in the form and size of an ordinary coffin, and is very old: the inscriptions are in Arabic; but from their age, and the confused manner in which they are written, the words being run into and interlaced with each other, they are very difficult to be read. There are apartments here for Dervishes, of whom we found several enjoying their shelter: they plucked us flowers from around the tomb of the saint, and furnished us with a nargeel, while a metaphysical conversation was supported with great warmth between them and my Dervish, Ismael, whose superior learning and eloquence they all acknowledged.

Close by this, a little to the north-east, is a similar establishment, called the Haft-ten, or eight bodies, to which we next went. The garden of this is finer than the former, and has fountains of water and large cypresses. On the left, and facing a second garden, is a small but fine edifice, of ancient date, apart from the dwellings of the Dervishes, and once carefully adorned, but now falling to decay. In the open front of the central apartment, are two pillars, of the Arabic kind, i. e. with Arabic capitals; the shafts plain, and without pedestals, each being in one piece of white marble. Like the columns we had seen in the court of the old mosque of Jumah, these were in as fair proportions as the

Doric, the order to which they approached nearest, in that respect. It is here that the Patriarchs are introduced,—Abraham offering up his son Isaac, and Moses feeding Jethro's flock. In one compartment, an old white-bearded man is represented, below a window, addressing a fair and gaily-dressed lady in a balcony above. This is said to be a certain Sheikh Semaan, of whom the story says, that he loved an Armenian lady, who forced him to change his religion, drink wine, eat pork, and drive swine; and then laughed at him for his pains. In opposite compartments, at each end of the room, the poets Saadi and Hafiz are represented in full-length figures, said to be portraits. Both of them wear the Dervish's cap, surrounded by a green turban, and are white bearded. These portraits are better executed, on the whole, than any of the other pictures.

In front of this open apartment is a neat little garden, with cypresses and a large spreading fir-tree. In this, the eight bodies of the Dervishes, first buried here, have their graves in a line together: their tombs are formed of plain cases of smooth marble, without inscription or date. Many other Dervishes are buried both here and at the Chehel-ten; but it is said to be only those who are distinguished from their fellows by superior piety, or superior understanding, who are granted that honour.

Above these abodes of Dervishes, in the mountains on the left of Teng-e-Allah-Ackbar, and north-east of this, are other smaller dwellings of the same people; and on the summit of the mountain is the tomb of Baba Kooe, an old Dervish and philosopher, whose verses and sayings in Persian were after his death collected, and are still extant under his name. At the small building on the right of the rocky pass of Teng-e-Allah-Ackbar is kept a copy of the Koran, said to be the largest in being, and written by Imam Zain-el-Abadin, the son of Imam Ali; but as the person who had the custody of this large book lived in town, and we could not see it without much difficulty, we did not go to the place where it is kept.

From hence we went south-easterly, towards the tomb of Saadi, which is distant from this nearly a mile. In our road, when about half-way, we turned up on the left, towards the mountain, along whose foot our path lay, to see a deep gutter and a small arched passage, through which a child might barely walk, cut through a neck of rock, and called by the natives Gaowary-e-Deer, or cradle of the demons, from a belief that it was the work of genii, and their nightly place of repose.

From hence, going for a quarter of an hour on the same course, we came to a large garden, called Dil-i-gushah, or 'the heart-opener.'* It might have once been worthy of admiration, but it was now in a state of great ruin. It had between two walks a central canal of water, with little falls, like the Prince's garden before described, and an open building in the centre, remarkable chiefly for a mixture in its construction of the pointed and the very flat arch, but containing nothing else worthy of notice.

From hence to the tomb of Saadi the road turned to the north-east, and went along by the side of the highway, leading to Yezd, Kerman, &c. the distance being less than half a mile. We found here a poor brick building, formed of three large recesses, or vaulted apartments, open on one side, and a small garden, in bad order, in front. The central recess had once been ornamented,—though the one on the right of it, when looking towards the garden, was quite plain—and the one on the left contained the tomb of the philosopher and poet whose name it bears. This was simply a case of marble, of the size and form of a common coffin, with little raised posts at the upper corners. The covering of it was entirely gone, leaving only the two sides and the two ends, and the outer one of the former had a large hole wantonly broken through it. The inscriptions were in Arabic and Cufic, and the letters of each in relief, but in so old

* When Nadir Shah encamped at Shiraz, Hadjee Hashem, the governor of the city at that period, gave him an entertainment in this garden, near the tomb of Saadi.—*Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii. p. 176.

a style, and so much run into each other, as to be difficult to read. The date of his interment was however more easily made out, and was in the year of the Hejira 691, or 540 years since: this being the year of Islam 1231. The tomb was reared over his grave at the time of the poet's death, and he was buried on the spot where he had himself passed all the latter part of his life. He was said to be one hundred and twenty years old; the first thirty of which were consumed in study at Shiraz; the next sixty were employed in travelling over India, and the countries east of this, in the character of a Dervish, and always on foot; and the last thirty he passed in retirement in this valley, hemmed in by lofty and bare hills, either writing his odes, or giving lectures to his disciples in philosophy. The present building and enclosure was a work of later date than the tomb; but we could not learn by whom it was constructed. The pointed and flat arches are here also mixed in the same work, and the walls are covered with verses and inscriptions of native visitors. The place bears nearly east-north-east from Shiraz, and is distant from it about a mile and a half.

From the tomb of Saadi we went back by the same road to that of Hafiz, which is distant nearly a mile. Here also is a square enclosure, surrounded by a brick wall, but of greater extent; and the space is filled by a burying-ground on one side, and a garden on the other, divided by a building running across the whole breadth, in the centre of the square. In the burying-ground, into which the door of our entrance led, were at least a hundred graves and tombs, and that of Hafiz was scarcely to be distinguished at a distance from the rest, though it stands nearly in the centre of them all. It is formed of an oblong case of marble, twelve spans in length, by four in breadth, and about the same in depth, standing on a basement of stone elevated about a foot from the ground, and projecting a foot each way beyond its lower dimensions. The sides and ends of this case are perfectly plain, and the marble is marked by slightly waving veins running horizon-

tally along the slabs in close order, changing the general colour of white by its variation of shades to a cloudy yellowness. The upper slab, which is laid flat on these sides and ends, is free from such veins, and may be called perfectly white. Around its edges is a small rope moulding, neatly cut; and the body of the interior contains the Ode of Hafiz, in the letter Sheen, beautifully executed in high relief; the letters large, and of the finest possible forms. This ode occupies the whole face of the stone, except just leaving room for a small border round it; and this border is formed by a succession of certain sentences and sayings of the poet, in separate compartments, going all around the edge of the tomb. The marble is said to be that of Tabreez, which is in general described to be formed of a combination of light green colours, with here and there veins of red, and sometimes of blue; but in this instance the upper stone is perfectly white, and the sides and end ones only streaked horizontally by a close succession of cloudy and waving lines, thus differing from any other of the Tabreez marbles that I had elsewhere seen.

Like the tomb of Saadi, that of Hafiz was said to have been placed on the spot which he frequented when alive; and his grave, it is believed, stands at the foot of a cypress planted by his own hands. It is only six months since that this sacred tree had fallen down, after having stood so many years; and though it was sawed off, the trunk is still preserved above ground, to be shown to visitors. Had such an event happened in England, every fibre of it would have been preserved with as much care as the mulberry of Shakspeare, but here it was generally disregarded. The first constructor of the tomb of Hafiz was one of his contemporaries. Nadir Shah, however, on the occasion of his being at Shiraz, having visited it, and opened the copy of his works, always kept here for inspection, found a passage so applicable to his own case, that he embellished the whole place, and restored the tomb, which was fast falling to decay. The present structure is, however, a still more recent work, and is ascribed to the munificence of Kur-

reem Khan, not more than forty years since. The period at which Hafiz wrote is about four hundred and forty years ago.* The original copy of his works, written by his own hands, was kept here, chained to the tomb, until about a century since, when Asheraff, the King of the Affghans, took Ispahan, and afterwards Shiraz, in the reign of Shah Sultan Hussein; and the book of Hafiz was then taken by him to Candahar, where it is now said to be. A copy was brought to us, of a folio size, finely written and embellished, from the pen of Seid Mohammed Ali, a celebrated writer in the service of Kurreem Khan, who was personally known to my Dervish, Ismael, and who lately ended his days at the tomb of Imam Hoossein, at Kerbela.

In the open central portico of the building which divides the burying-ground from the garden, are some marble pillars with Arabic capitals, no pedestals, and plain shafts, each in one piece; their proportions being, like those already described, nearly Doric. The garden beyond it has many fine cypresses and flower-beds, but there are no tombs there.

We smoked a caleoon, and conversed with some of the Dervishes here; but we were not suffered to depart without opening the Book of Hafiz, for an ode suited to our respective conditions. Ismael found one, which told him that the sickness of his heart was occasioned by an absent lover for whom he pined. The one on which I opened, inveighed against earthly fame and glory, compared with the enjoyments of the present hour; and others of our party thought the passages found by them, on opening the book, equally well suited to their several cases. From the time of Nadir Shah, no one indeed comes here without making this trial of the prophetic power of the poet, by opening his book at random, and finding in the first page presented a passage suited to his condition, and all go away perfectly convinced of its unerring truth;

* Shiraz was in its greatest prosperity when visited by Timour. Hafiz, the poet, was then there, and treated with distinction by the great conqueror.—*Hist. of Persia*, vol. i. p. 447.

Timour's battle and entry into Shiraz are described in the same work.—Vol. i. p. 463.

so powerful is the influence of a well-grounded faith and previous persuasion. The Soofees believe that souls arrived at such a state of wisdom and purity as those of Hafiz and Saadi, have a perfect knowledge of all that is going on in the present world; and that they thus still take an active part in the direction of its affairs. My Dervish, Ismael, firmly believed the hand of Hafiz to have directed the opening of the leaves of the book to us all; and insisted on it that the poet knew the hearts of all present. Travelling Dervishes from all parts of the East come here occasionally to occupy the few chambers that are set apart for them; but the place itself, with the Book of Hafiz, and the tomb, are all under the charge of a Moollah of Shiraz. The Persians, however, do not come here to drink wine, and pour libations on the tomb of their favourite poet, as has been asserted by some. Those who drink wine in Persia, at the present day, do it more secretly; and respect for learning and talents is not so general, as to draw many visitors here on that account alone.

From hence we went to the large tomb of Shah Mirza Hamza, a son of Imam Moosa. It is a spacious edifice, crowned by a lofty dome, and stands close to the road on the left when going towards Shiraz. The exterior is much injured, and falling fast to decay; the interior is in somewhat better preservation. The tomb of the saint is enclosed in a frame-work of wood, with a grating of brass bars; and on it are many pious offerings of silver vessels, with a copy of the Koran, and many gilded tablets written over in Arabic.* The decorations of the roofs and walls are later than the construction of the edifice itself; they are ascribed to Kurreem Khan, who died before they were completed, and they have never since been continued. After seeing the other Persian monuments of a similar kind, this has nothing

* Shah Mirza Hamza, whose tomb is at Shiraz, was the eldest son of Sultan Mahomed, one of the early Suffavean kings, and fell under the blow of an assassin named Hoodee, a barber, who stabbed him in his private apartment, and effected his escape.—*Hist. of Persia*, vol. i. p. 521.

worthy of particular notice; but on beholding so proud an edifice as this, so richly ornamented, and so abundantly furnished with offerings, reared over the ashes of one who had no other claim to distinction but that of being the son of an Imam, who multiplied his species by hundreds from his own loins; while the graves of Saadi and of Hafiz are scarcely distinguished from the common herd, we had a striking proof of the triumph of bigotry and superstition, among an ignorant and declining people, over learning, genius, and fame.

We returned to Shiraz before sunset, having occupied nearly the whole of the day in our excursions. Each of the places we had visited was indeed of itself sufficiently interesting to have detained us longer, had we possessed time to examine them separately; but this was not at my disposal. Our evening was passed in great happiness with my excellent and intelligent friend, Jaffier Ali Khan, and a small party of learned men whom he had invited to sup with us.

It was remarked by Herodotus, that among the ancient Persians the dishes were separately introduced, which occasioned them to say that the Grecians quitted their tables unsatisfied, having nothing to induce them to continue there; as, if they had, they would eat more.* It is worthy of mention that, in social parties, the same custom still continues, and that rarely more than one or two dishes at most are laid on the table at a time, these being succeeded by others when removed.

Oct. 28th.—As both the air and water of Bushire was represented to be much inferior to that of Shiraz, and as I had not yet perfectly recovered the effects of my fever at Hamadan, it was recommended to me to dispatch a messenger to the English Resident at Bushire, to know at what time it would be necessary to be there for the first vessels that were to sail, in order that I might prolong my stay here, rather than in the hot and sandy plain of

* Herod. Clio, 133.

Bushire. I accordingly wrote such a letter, intending to go on as far as Shapoor, about midway, and then meet the messenger, who would bring his answer to Kauzeroon.

When this duty was performed, we went out to see such other principal tombs in the town as we had not yet visited. The first of these was that of Seid Ala-ul-Din, son of Imam Moosa. This building is equally spacious and lofty with that of Shah Ameer Hamza, is in much finer preservation, and the decorations are infinitely superior. The tomb itself is nearly of the same kind, enclosed within a large frame, like a sanctuary, with cage-work of brass, finely wrought; it is covered with silver vessels as offerings, and on it lies a copy of the Koran. Above is suspended a gaudy canopy, and the pavement is covered by carpets of a blue ground, of the manufacture of Yezd, in which Arabic inscriptions are wrought around the border in characters of white, well formed and distinct. The surbasement of the walls is formed of slabs of a dark and clouded marble, sometimes of a reddish kind, speckled with white, like porphyry: the columns and pilasters at the angles, which are spirally fluted, with Arabic capitals, are in excellent proportions, and all the stone-work is well wrought. The decorations of the roof of the dome, and the walls, in which Cufic inscriptions are ingeniously introduced, into flowers, &c. are quite equal in design and execution to any thing at Ispahan; and the coloured glass windows, though much broken and injured, are surpassed in beauty by none that I remember, not even those of the room in which I slept at the palace of Shah Abbas. The building itself, and its decorations, are the finest in Shiraz. It is, however, much neglected; though it is held to be of such sanctity, that poor pilgrims who cannot go to that of the Imam Hussein, at Kerbela, are thought to have sufficiently performed their duty, if they come here and go through the same ceremonies of their pilgrimage. We met many devotees on the spot. In the outer small porch of entrance we noticed an old tomb entirely of the stone like porphyry; and in front of the door a rude lion of the

same material, over the grave of one who had been a champion in the athletic exercises practised here, in houses set apart for that purpose.

We next went to the tomb of Hadjee Seid Ghareeb, and Seid Mohammed Ibn Zaid Ibn Imam Hassan. This was a low building, vaulted in the usual way; but its decorations on the walls and ceilings are more simple than we had seen before. The number of little silver cups, with tassels, brought as offerings, were here suspended at the points of the dropping ornaments in the concave semi-arches, and produced a singular effect. The bodies of the two saints named were contained within one framework of wood and brass, like the others described; and each was covered with offerings, and had a copy of the Koran. We saw here a large brass candlestick, of many branches, the pedestal of which was round and flat; but where the trunk or stem began, it was made to rest on the back of an elephant, well wrought in brass.

From hence we went to an octangular building, standing isolated in the midst of a large cemetery, and called Beebee Dochteroon, the daughter of Imam Zein-el-Abedeen; but, the door being closed, we did not enter it. On the grave-stones here and elsewhere, we noticed the emblems of the profession or trade followed by the deceased, as was customary among the Greeks, who in the Iliad are represented as putting an oar to designate the tomb of a pilot. Here were swords, shields, pistols, and spears for warriors; combs and circles for those who prayed much, as it is customary for devotees to lay a comb before them on the ground, and place the forehead on it when praying: there were also scissors and cloth for tailors, who are not ashamed of their profession in Persia. On our way back to the town, we met five horned rams, who were leading forth for a public fight, this being a favourite diversion at Shiraz. We noticed many birds, kept in cages, in the tradesmen's shops,—a practice unknown in Turkey or Arabia.

In the afternoon we went with Jaffier Ali Khan, to see a friend of his, who was a descendant of the great Jengiz Khan, the

Tartar conqueror. This man was now at the head of at least twenty thousand horsemen, in Fars, who look up to him as their sovereign and leader. We found him superintending the laying out of a new garden, in which he appeared to take great pleasure. He was a fine, robust, and warlike-looking man, of very dark complexion, and of features very different from Persian. He wore talismans on both his arms, spoke roughly, and was surrounded by a train of dependents. Our conversation turned chiefly on the affairs of Europe, of which he was by no means ignorant. We were waited on by many Tartars, who spoke a harsh dialect of Turkish. The people attached to this chief are wandering tribes, living in tents, and occupying the whole of the Gurrum Seer, or the hot district, and the borders of Fars, Khorassan, and Seistan. They speak Persian to others, but among themselves Turkish is mostly used. This leader is thought to be the richest man in the whole kingdom, excepting only the sovereign, whose wealth in gold and jewels, hoarded at Teheran, is said to be immense. The chief's treasure is also conceived to be in great part hidden in caves and mountains, known only to himself and his sons; so that the Persian Government dares not oppress him; indeed his faithful force is a sufficient protection against this. After our interview here, he accompanied us to Jaffier Ali Khan's house, and remained with us till evening prayers. Though plainly arrayed in his garden, he dressed himself for his visit in a rich white shawl cloak, and a still richer red shawl of Cashmere around his waist, and was accompanied by an innumerable train of servants.

Oct. 29th.—As the drum beat for the assembling of the Gymnasts, or Athletes, at the Zoor Khoneh, or house of strength, at an early hour this morning, we attended its call, and went there to witness the exercises. The place was small and dark. The arena was a deep circle, like that in the ancient amphitheatre, for fights of beasts; and the seats for spectators were arranged around, as in theatres generally. The soil of the arena was a fine firm clay. About twenty men were soon assembled on this, each of them

naked, excepting only a strong girdle to conceal their waist, and thick pads at the knees. There were also two little boys and a black slave lad. At the sound of a drum and guitar, the men began to exercise themselves with large clubs held across their shoulders, moving in a measured dance: they next began to jump, and then stoop to the ground, as if about to sit, springing up again suddenly on their legs: they next swung one foot for a considerable length of time, and then the other; after which there was violent jumping and dancing, and afterwards a motion like swimming on the earth, by placing their breasts nearly to touch the soil, then drawing their bodies forward, and rising again, some even in this position bearing a man clinging fast to their loins. They next began to walk on their hands, with their feet in the air, falling from this position hard on the ground, turning head over heels in the air, and, last of all, wrestling with each other. All these feats were performed to measured tones of music; and each encounter of the last description was preceded by the recital of a poem, in order to encourage the combatants, which was done by the master of the place. One young man, about twenty-five years old, from six feet four to six feet six inches high, with the most muscular, and at the same time the most beautiful form that I ever beheld, threw all his antagonists; and was indeed as superior to all the rest in skill and strength, as he was more nobly elegant in his form and more graceful in all his motions. Jaffier Ali had known this champion from a youth of five years old. When a lad, he was so handsome that all the women of Shiraz who saw him were in love with him. He had constantly frequented the Zoor Khoneh, and his strength and beauty of form had improved together. For myself, I never beheld so complete a model of manly beauty, and had never before thought that so much grace and elegance could be given to violent movements as I witnessed here: it realized all the ideal strength and beauty of the sculptures of the Greeks. There were many strong and active men among the others, but none to be compared with this.

These houses of strength were once patronized by the Persian Government, but they are now no longer so supported; the people of the country are however much attached to the exercises, and attend them fully and frequently. The money given by visitors who take no part in the exercises goes to a fund for the institution; and the rich and middling classes, of whom there are many who enter the lists, make up the deficiency. On Fridays the place is crowded with visitors, who give presents at their discretion. There are four or five of these houses at Shiraz, many more at Ispahan, several at Kermanshah and Teheran, and indeed in all the great towns of Khorassan and Turkomania, as far as Bokhara and Samarcand, according to the testimony of my Dervish, who says he has seen them and frequented them often. At Bagdad and Moosul there are the same institutions, and by the same name of Zoor Khoneh; which proves their having been borrowed from this country, as the name is purely Persian. At Bagdad, about two years since, there came a Pehlawan, or champion, named Melek Mohammed, from Casvin, and addressed himself to the Pasha. It is the custom for these champions to go from place to place, to try their strength with the victors or champions of each; and if there be none at the place last visited, the governor is obliged to give a hundred tomaums; but if there be one, and the stranger vanquishes him, he must be content with the honour of victory and succeeding to the place of the vanquished. The Pasha of Bagdad replying to Melek Mohammed that he had a champion already attached to his court, a day was appointed for the man of Casvin to try his strength with him of Bagdad. Moosa Baba, the Pasha's Kabobshee, or sausage-maker, appeared, and both the combatants were stripped, and girded with the girdle of the Zoor Khoneh alone, before the Pasha's house. The Casvin champion seized the Bagdad cook by the stomach, and so wrenched him with the grasp of one hand only, that the man fainted on the spot, and died within five days afterwards. The Pasha rewarded the victor with ten pieces of

gold, a handsome dress, and made him his chief Cawass. Three or four months afterwards, came a man from a place called Dejeil, near the Tigris, and at a distance of ten hours' journey from Bagdad, on the road to Samara. He offered to combat the Casvin Melek Mohammed. A second combat took place, and though this new opponent was thought to be a man of uncommon strength, the victor caught him by a single grasp, whirled him in the air, and threw him so violently on the ground that he expired on the spot. After this, the champion was advanced in the Pasha's favour, and now receives about fifty piastres, or nearly five pounds sterling, per day; twenty-five for his pay as Cawass, ten as champion of the Zoor Khoneh, and fifteen for his expenses in women, wine, and forbidden pleasures!—From this exhibition we went to the Medressé Khan, or chief college of Shiraz. It was originally constructed in the style of those at Ispahan, having two minarets without, coated with coloured tiles; and in the centre of a square court, a fine garden with two stories of chambers facing it all round. It is now much decayed, and the lower chambers only are occupied by a few children under the tuition of Moollahs, their parents paying the charge of their education. There are several other Medresses or colleges,—some inhabited and others deserted, but all of them are smaller and inferior to this.

The streets of Shiraz are like those of all Eastern cities, narrow, dark, and generally unpaved: the new bazaars are however sufficiently wide for business and comfort. One of the great peculiarities of the place is the appearance of high square towers, with apertures at the top for catching the wind and conducting it to the lower apartments of the houses. They are called Baudgheers, or wind-catchers, and look at a distance like ordinary towers. The domes of the mosques at Shiraz embrace at least two-thirds of a globe in their shape, being small at the bottom, expanding in the centre, and lastly closing in at the top. Some of them are ribbed perpendicularly, and painted green; others

are coated with coloured tiles; but, generally speaking, their effect is much inferior to those of Ispahan. All kinds of provisions, bread, and fruit, are varied, excellent, and cheap here; yet there appeared to be more beggars in Shiraz than we had seen elsewhere in any part of Persia. The men are a fine, handsome race, the children are fair, and the women beautiful: these last dress in blue check cloths and white veils, with a little square grating of net-work before their eyes. The situation of Shiraz is very agreeable, being in the midst of an extensive and fertile plain, bounded by mountains on all sides. It lies on nearly the same level as Ispahan, and is only a little lower than Hamadan; but the climate is considered better than either of these, and diseases of any kind are very rare. The seasons are so regular, that they change almost to a given day: the spring and autumn are delightful; the summer moderate with respect to heat; and the winter of three months cold, with not more than one month in the year of either snow or rain.

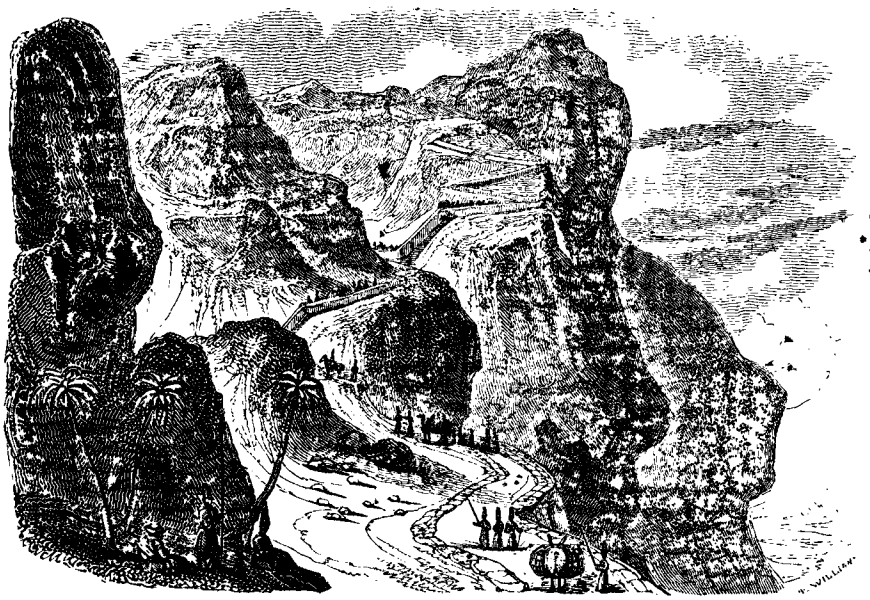
The inhabitants of Shiraz are nearly all Moslems, of the Sheeah sect.* There are a few Jews, and some Armenians; the last two classes being chiefly merchants, trading brokers, and makers of the wine of Shiraz, which is said to be degenerating in quality every year. The Shah Zadé has a good force of horse and foot, besides the wandering tribes, whom he can command in great numbers. The leading characteristics of the Prince are

* Arrian gives a very striking description of the manner in which the marriages of the ancient Persians were performed, in his account of the nuptials of Alexander and some of his generals. He says: 'Alexander now turned his mind to the celebration of his own and his friends' nuptials at Susa. He himself married Barsine, the eldest daughter of Darius; and in all eighty daughters of the most illustrious nobility, Persians as well as Medes, were united to as many of Alexander's friends. The nuptials were celebrated in the Persian manner. Seats were placed for those who were about to be married, according to their rank. After a banquet, the ladies were introduced, and each sat down by the side of her husband, who each, beginning with Alexander himself, took the right hand of his bride and kissed her. All observed this ceremony, and then each man retired with his wife.' The simplicity of this mode is a striking contrast to the pompous ceremonies of the modern Parsees, their descendants.

indifference and imbecility: he makes no pretensions to the crown of Persia, and is therefore not an object of jealousy. The Nizam-ud-Dowla of Ispahan had been lately appointed to the government of Shiraz, to act under the Prince. This man is said to be the greatest extortioner that even Persia has ever seen, and is therefore a favourite with the King, who is cruel and avaricious; and is cordially hated by all his subjects. The people of Shiraz are free, open-hearted, polite, and given to pleasure. Wine is often drunk in private parties: and public women are in greater numbers here than even at Ispahan. Literature and the arts had been for years declining, and every thing has been growing worse for the last twenty years.

There are but few Guebres, as the ancient disciples of Zoroaster, the fire-worshippers of Persia, are called, at Shiraz. They come occasionally from Yezd and Herat, but seldom remain to settle. When they do, however, they live in a separate class, like the Jews, and observe their own peculiar customs of marriage, funeral, and other ceremonies, which resemble those practised by the Parsees at Guzerat and Bombay.*

* Herodotus, at a very early period, makes the following observations on the manner in which the ancient Persian funerals were observed. He says: 'As to what relates to their dead, I will not affirm it to be true that these are never interred till some bird or dog has discovered a propensity to prey on them. This, however, is unquestionably certain of the Magi, who publicly observe this custom.'—*Clio*, 140. Beloe, in his note on this, says: 'The Magi for a long time retained the exclusive privilege of having their bodies left as a prey to carnivorous animals. In succeeding times, the Persians abandoned all corpses indiscriminately to birds and beasts of prey. This custom still in part continues: the place of burial of the Guebres, at the distance of half a league from Ispahan, is a round tower made of free-stone; it is thirty-five feet in height, and ninety in diameter, without gate or any kind of entrance: they ascend it by a ladder. In the midst of the tower is a kind of trench, into which the bones are thrown. The bodies are ranged along the wall, in their proper clothes, upon a small couch, with bottles of wine, &c. The ravens, which fill the cemetery, devour them. This is also the case with the Guebres at Surat, as well as at Bombay.'



CHAPTER XIX.

FROM SHIRAZ, BY KOTEL DOKHTER, TO KAUZEROON.

Nov. 1st.—All our arrangements for quitting Shiraz having been completed, we were stirring soon after midnight, though, from kind attention to our comfort on the part of our hospitable friend, Jaffier Ali Khan, we were detained for some time afterwards,—and it was not until the moon had set, that we mounted for our journey. Passing through the extensive village of Mesjed Berdy,—which, in old Persian, signifies the stone mosque,—we had gardens on either hand, to the number of at least a thousand, and all of them were said to be productive of a variety and abundance of the best fruits.

Our course from hence lay westerly across the plain, the hills narrowing on each side, and their points of union, which form

the western pass out of the valley of Shiraz, immediately before us. As the paths were numerous, and equally beaten, we took one of the northernmost, which led us astray; and at daylight we found ourselves entangled in mountains, without a guide, or any clue to extricate ourselves. The mountains here were lofty and rugged, and composed of limestone of different qualities,—some forming a streaked marble of cloudy white, like the slabs on the sides and ends of Hafiz's tomb, which was probably hewn from hence, and not brought from Tabriz,—and others of a reddish cast. Every part, even to the summits, was covered with vegetation and brushwood, and the narrow valleys afforded pasture to numerous flocks.

We at length met with some shepherds, who directed us how to cross the mountains on our left by a path known to themselves only, and one of them took the pains, unasked, to accompany us part of the way. The language spoken among these mountaineers, though thus close to Shiraz, is said to be the old dialect of Fars, from which the present language of Persia has been formed. They are all acquainted, however, with this last, and use it in their communication with strangers; but what surprised me more was, to find that Turkish, of a corrupt kind, was so familiar to all, that it was the language of conversation between the Dervish and themselves.*

When our shepherd guide left us, we went down over the southern side of the hills, toward the high road; and as the sun had now risen, we halted on the banks of a clear stream, flowing from the westward through the valley, to wash and refresh. There was just above us, to the south-west, the wreck of a ruined village, called Kooshk Bostack, which gave its name to the stream

* In the various migrations of the tribes of Tartary, several of them have at different periods come from the plains of Syria into Persia. The Shamloo, or sons of Syria, are perhaps at this moment one of the most numerous of all the Turkish tribes of Persia. The Karagoozaloo, the Baharloo, and several other tribes, are branches of the Shamloo, who were brought into Persia from Syria by Timour.—*Hist. of Persia*, vol. i. p. 391.

also; and the Dervish Ismael, who on some occasions dreaded the mischievous practices of demons, and at others was too much a philosopher to admit the belief of any thing as certain, excepting only the existence of God, insisted on it that it was through the malice of the devils residing in these ruins, that we were this morning entangled among the hills, and led astray from the king's highway. I should have suffered him to have entertained this opinion, without attempting to combat it, but that he drew from thence the most inauspicious omens, and became quite disheartened from proceeding. A few days' detention, he said, would probably procure us the protection of a caravan; why then, he asked, in these times of turbulence and trouble, when famine rendered men desperate,—when all the evil spirits were abroad, and the world evidently approaching its dissolution,—should we venture ourselves alone against such a host of foes? He thought this was a warning for us to return, to which we should not be insensible; and, for the first time since his being with me, he seemed almost angry at my apparent obstinacy. He told me that, on leaving Ispahan, he had promised, by a secret vow, to give a rupee to the fund of the poor at some tomb here, if we arrived safe; and he had actually performed his vow at Shiraz; but he now thought that even this preparatory good deed would be insufficient to preserve us from the many dangers that threatened on every side.*

* As a striking instance how readily one class of popular traditions may be received, and another of nearly the same description rejected, by the same individual, the following may be mentioned: In his History of Persia, Sir John Malcolm says, that during a famine in Khorassan, when ravaged also by the Usbeg Tartars, in the reign of Shah Tamasp, and a plague raged at the same time, men ate their own species; but it was relieved by showers from Heaven:—there fell, according to Persian authors, a substance resembling a diminutive grain of wheat; and this substance, when mixed with a small portion of flour, became a most nourishing food. This is, at least, a very similar event to the supply of manna in the wilderness, which has been accounted for on natural grounds; yet General Malcolm, while he says nothing of his incredulity as to the one, evidently thinks the other to be a mere fable, to judge by his notes of admiration affixed to the passage in question.—Vol. i. p. 511.

We remounted at the stream, ascended the hill, passed safely by this supposed haunt of devils, and got at length into the high road, along which we continued our way westerly, inclining often a point or two to the north. The ground over which we went was in general uneven, but the road good, and the country, though uncultivated, of a more agreeable aspect than the bare lands of Irak, as verdure and bushes were now every where seen.

Soon after noon we arrived at a flat valley, with abundance of wood, and a transparent stream winding through it, over a white pebbly bed, from the north-westward. There was here an abundance of cattle feeding on rich grass near the banks, and flocks of water-fowl along the river's edge. The herds were carefully watched by shepherds during the day, and were all driven into shelter before sunset, as lions were known to have their dens in the neighbourhood, and to prowl here at night, to the terror both of caravans and single passengers.

It was in this valley that we found the first caravansera, with a few huts attached to it, called Khoneh Zemoon, and esteemed to be seven fursucks from Shiraz. As our horses were fresh, we did not halt here, but pursued our way to the westward, over a country similar to that already described. In about two hours we came again to a winding stream, with trees of exactly the same description as those found at the place we had just passed; and here we were cautioned to be particularly on our guard, more especially as night was advancing.

From hence we ascended a steep hill, called Kotel Oosoon-e-Siffeed, or the white-bosomed hill, well wooded throughout, of lime rock in its composition, and presenting us with some interesting views in our ascent. On gaining the summit, we had before us, on the western side, the fine plain of Dusht-urgeon, so called from a particular tree of the latter name being common near it.

The large village of the same name appeared seated immediately beneath the cliff of the north-western hills; and just before sunset we entered it. Although this was the second halt of the

caravans from Shiraz to Bushire, there was now no shelter for passengers; the old caravansera being destroyed, and materials only preparing for the building of a new one. The Dervish, however, who had the talent of speedily ingratiating himself in the favour of strangers in a higher degree than any one I ever knew, prevailed on a young wife, in an advanced state of pregnancy with her first child, to give us a part of her chamber, without consulting her husband, who had not yet returned from his labours. This was not all; for our horses were sheltered in the stable below, and the man's own cattle turned out to make room for them; and by the time that the husband appeared, we had a supper of such humble food as the family themselves fared on, of which he sat down and partook with us, exclaiming, 'In the name of God, the Holy and the Merciful!' without asking a single question as to the cause of our being of the party, and with as much cordiality as if we had been friends for many months. We smoked and talked freely together, throughout the evening, with the same good understanding, undisturbed by the most distant enquiry; which was altogether so new to me in Persia, though not uncommon in Turkey, and almost universal in Arabia, that I was at a loss how to account for the change of manners; and when the hour of repose came, we lay down, each taking a separate corner of the room, with a blazing wood fire in the middle of it, as the night was severely cold.

Nov. 2nd.—The plain of Dusht-urgeon is nearly of a circular form, and is about two fursucks, or eight miles, in its general diameter. It is hemmed in by mountains on each side,—those on the north-west and south-east being steep cliffs, while the passes of inlet and outlet are to the north-east and south-west, with a more decisive separation or opening of the hills in the western quarter. Through the centre of the plain wind several streams, on whose banks are the trees which give name to it, and which, from the description of my companion, I conceived to be a sort of willow, though we did not see any sufficiently near for me to determine.

A small portion of the plain only is applied to culture, but it was now entirely covered by flocks in every direction, and horned cattle were here more abundant than we had seen them before in any part of the country.

The town of Dusht-urgeon is seated immediately at the foot of the northern and north-western cliffs, and lies on a gently ascending ground. There are from five to six hundred houses in it, all built of stone, and thatched over a flat roof; containing courts and stalls attached, suited to the wants of the inhabitants, who may be reckoned at about two thousand. Agriculture, and the feeding of their herds and flocks, furnish their chief occupation; besides which, they cultivate the vine with great success, and produce raisins and sweetmeats in sufficient abundance to admit of a large surplus for sale. The whole surface of the mountain to the northward of the town, and almost hanging over it, presents a singular picture of industry and care, in being spread over with vineyards from the base to the very summit.

Dusht-urgeon is the reputed birth-place of Selman Pak, the barber and friend of Mohammed, who was thought by some to be a native of Modain, and who has his tomb on the ruins of Ctesiphon, where it is annually visited by the barbers from Bagdad. It is said that during his lifetime here, while he sat by one of the streams in the plain, a large lion appeared to mark him for his prey; but as he called on the name of the Almighty for help, exclaiming, 'There is no God but God, and Mohammed is the Apostle of God!' a visible hand arose from the stream, seized his enemy in his grasp, and destroyed it in an instant. In commemoration of this event, a small domed edifice is erected, about a furlong to the south-west of the town, seated amid trees and water; and from the centre of its dome rises the figure of a human hand, which is said to allude to the event described.

As we had lost our way on the morning of yesterday, we delayed our departure until it was perfect daylight, when we thanked

our kind entertainers, and set out on our way. Our course across the plain lay to the south-west; and in about two hours, having gone through its diameter in that direction, we came to the foot of an ascent, which appeared at first gentle, but afterwards proved sufficiently difficult. This was wooded with larger trees than we had yet seen, of an evergreen kind; and we enjoyed some charming views of the country, in our way up it. Here too, as on all the hills we had recently passed, were hundreds of the beautiful mountain partridges, which abound in these parts; and, from their never being molested, they suffer passengers to approach them closely, without evincing the least fear.

We were about two hours before we gained the summit of this range, as our ascent was by stages divided by small portions of level road; and when we came on the opposite brow of the mountain, we opened the view of a narrow valley covered with wood, and having the dry bed of a stream winding through it from the south-east. Immediately beneath us, and beyond the low ridge of hills which formed its farther boundary, was the plain of Kauzeroon, which was exceedingly deep, and at least four thousand feet below our present level,—the view closing in that direction by a steep and lofty bed of mountains, forming a barrier in the west.

We descended over the rugged brow of this mountain of Peerazunn, or the old woman, by a winding path, leading our horses, and moving at every step with great caution. The fatigue was of itself sufficiently painful to all; but, in addition to this, the rocky masses in some places, and the pits in others, with sharp-edged stones that slipped from our tread, so pained our feet, that we halted several times, on our way down, to breathe and repose.

In about two hours we came to a caravansera, which forms a station for the passengers on this road; and our fatigue would have induced us to halt here, but that there was at present neither water nor food for us or our horses, and it was therefore necessary to proceed. This station is called simply Caravansera

Kotel, and is estimated to be only four fursucks from Dusht-urgeon; but if this be correct, the distance must be measured in a straight line, as in actual surface we thought it at least six.

From hence we descended a short distance further, and came into the wooded valley described: its direction is from south-east to north-west, and its descent towards the latter quarter is very perceptible. Its south-western boundary was a ridge of pointed hills, composed of many separate masses, all uniform in shape; and at their feet wound through the valley the pebbly bed of a river now entirely dry. This valley was covered with a rich soil, many portions of which were cultivated, though the trees were left standing, and the whole resembled the scenery of a thickly-wooded park. The trees here were mostly of the kind called Belloot. It produces a small fruit, in shape like a date; the use of which is common in dysenteries, and is found by the inhabitants of the country to be a very effectual remedy.

On the side of the mountains to the right, was a small village called Khoneh Khalidj, to which the cultivated lands of this valley belonged, and whose population was from four to five hundred persons.

We left this valley by passing over a gentle hill on the north-west, and came to a small square tower, used as a station for guards of the road, and called Rah-dan. We found here two or three musketeers, the rest being scattered over the mountains looking out. These men detained us by long and close examinations; as they took us to be robbers, from our wearing Arab dresses, being well armed, and daring to travel alone. They would fain have obstructed our passage further, and held us in custody until their comrades appeared: but as we were well mounted and nearly equal to them in number, we defied their threats and proceeded on our way,—not wondering at the roads being unsafe, when such inefficacious measures as these were thought sufficient on the part of the Government to render them secure.

We came soon afterwards on the brow of another mountain, called Kotel Dokhter, or the 'Hill of the Daughter,' as secondary to that of the 'Old Woman,' which we had passed before. This presented us with a perpendicular cliff of about twelve hundred feet in height, at the foot of which commenced the plain of Kauzeroon. The descent down over this steep was by a zigzag road, once well paved, and walled on the outer side; and from the steepness of the cliff, down which it wound its way, the several portions of the zigzag line were sometimes not more than ten paces in length, in any one direction, so that they were like a flight of steps placed at acute angles with each other. We were nearly an hour descending this, before we gained the plain; and were several times hailed in the course of our passage down by musketeers from the mountains, many of whom we could not, with all our endeavours, distinguish from the dark masses of rock, in the recesses of which they stood, though we conversed with them, replied to all their questions, and could point distinctly to the spot from whence the sound of their voices issued. These men, like their companions at the Rah-dan, insisted on our being wanderers in search of plunder; and two of them fired at us, with a view to terrify us into submission. The Dervish, however, put a worse construction on this exercise of their privilege, by insisting that they were as often robbers themselves, as they were the guardians of the road; for though, when caravans and great men with a retinue passed them, they always made a show of activity at their posts, yet they were quite as ready to murder solitary travellers, if they resisted their insolent demands of tribute and presents, as they were to offer their protection when the numbers of the party were sufficient for self-defence. These musketeers are poor villagers, appointed by arbitrary conscription to this duty; and as their nominal pay is not enough to furnish them with bread and water, and even this is often withheld from them by the governor of the district,

who has the charge of defraying it from his treasury, they may be often urged by necessity to do that which by inclination they would not commit. *

After entering on the plain, we went about west-north-west across it, having trees of the kind already described on each side of our path, and no appearances of cultivation. We were now about three fursucks from our destined halt, the sun was nearly set, and a heavy storm was fast gathering in the west. It was no sooner dark than it began to pour down torrents of rain, which came sometimes in such whirlwinds, as to render it difficult to keep one's seat on the horse. The animals themselves were frightened beyond measure at the vivid lightning which blazed at intervals from the thick clouds, and if possible still more terrified at the deafening echoes of the thunder, which rolled through the surrounding cliffs and mountains. Sometimes they started off in a gallop, and at others were immovably fixed; and it was not until after three full hours of this tempest that we came near Kauzeroon, the barking of its dogs giving us warning of approach before we saw the dwellings. A transient gleam of light from the moon, which was now for the first time visible through opening clouds, enabled us to perceive the town, and we soon after entered its ruined walls. Our way wound through deserted streets, with dilapidated dwellings, and

* The mountaineers who lived between the high and low lands of Persia were always marauders. The following is the account given of them as they existed in the time of Nadir Shah; but though the historian says they were then extinguished, they have since revived, and are as vigorous and troublesome as ever.—'The peace of the country had been much disturbed by the depredations of a numerous and barbarous tribe, called Bukhteeârees, who inhabit the mountains that stretch from near the capital of Persia to the vicinity of Shuster. The subjugation of these plunderers had ever been deemed impossible. Their lofty and rugged mountains abound with rocks and caverns, which in times of danger serve them as fastnesses and dens. But Nadir showed that this fancied security, which had protected them for ages, was a mere delusion. He led his veteran soldiers to the tops of their highest mountains; parties of light troops hunted them from the cliffs and glens in which they were concealed; and in the space of one month the tribe was completely subdued. Their chief was taken prisoner, and put to death.'—*Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii. p. 67.

isolated arches of doors and windows on each side of us, until we reached a poor caravansera, where we gladly took shelter. Our horses were so knocked up, that they lay down, saddled as they were, and without waiting for their food. We were ourselves equally fatigued, and wet to the skin, without a dry garment at hand. As firewood, however, was here abundant and cheap, we kindled a blazing heap, and warmed and dried ourselves in the smoke, while a cheering pipe and a cup of coffee made us soon forget the troubles of our way.

A day or two after my arrival at Shiraz, I had dispatched a messenger to the British Resident at Bushire, desiring information as to what vessels might be at that port destined for Bombay, and the probable time of their sailing. The messenger had engaged to meet us with an answer at Kauzeroon; so that I should have been here able to regulate the remainder of my journey accordingly, and either hasten on to be in time for an immediate opportunity, or, by returning to Shiraz, go through Fasa, Darab, and Firouzabad to Bushire, and arrive in time for any later one. I was so confidently assured, before I quitted Shiraz, of there being no vessel either then at Bushire, or soon expected there, that I had resolved on accomplishing this latter journey, in which I felt much interested, and had therefore left my own horses and baggage with my friend Jaffier Ali Khan, at Shiraz, and accepted the offer of his animals for this journey as far as Shapoor, from which he was so certain that I should return.

Late as the hour of our arrival was, we sent immediately for a certain Nour Mohammed, to whom an Armenian of Shiraz had given us a letter; and as this man was also in the service of the English Resident at Bushire, we made no scruple of explaining to him who we were. On enquiry, we learnt from him that though no vessel from Bombay was actually at the port, one was daily expected from Bussorah to touch there on her way down. To profit by this, it would be necessary to use all possible dispatch; and nothing remained, therefore, but to procure a messenger

for Shiraz, and send him off, as soon as our horses had reposed, to return those of Jaffier Ali Khan, and bring down mine, with the things left at Shiraz. The messenger was speedily procured for us by Nour Mohammed; and, wet, tired, and sleepy as I was, I wrote a long letter to my friend, and gave it in charge to the horseman, who was to commence his journey at day-break in the morning, armed with our own weapons for his defence.

Nov. 3rd.—We were waited on by Nour Mohammed at an early hour, as we had slept in the caravansera; and as soon as the messenger had been dispatched to Shiraz, we repaired to one of the baths of Kauzeroon. It was small and dark, but of exactly the same plan as all those we had seen in Persia, and more highly heated than any. The attendants, too, were more skilful in their duty than even those of the best baths at Shiraz and Ispahan; and in their method of moulding the limbs and muscles, approached nearly to the Turks. This was a very striking difference, for which I could learn no satisfactory reason, but it was one of great gratification to myself.

From the bath we went to a house which was said to be one appropriated to the use of such English travellers as might pass that way, and, as I understood, was set apart for that purpose by the same Nour Mohammed, who called himself the slave of our nation, and swore a hundred vows of devotion and fidelity to all our race. As he had not before seen one exactly of my description dressed as an Arab, and with a humble Dervish for his companion, he thought it best, however, to name me to all others as Hadjee Abdallah, the only appellation he had yet heard, and to follow it up by the assertion of my being an Egyptian Arab recommended to him by a friend. We found here an excellent breakfast in the manner of the country, and several of Nour Mohammed's acquaintances partook of it with us. This, and the lengthened enquiries and replies which naturally followed, detained us until past noon, before the company separated. An offer was then made to us of the use of this house during the

time we halted here for the arrival of our horses from Shiraz, or, if we preferred a situation more airy and detached from the town, the house and garden of the Governor, which he only occupied, or visited occasionally, during the heats of summer. We accepted this last with great readiness, and were repairing thither when we met the messenger dispatched from Shiraz to Bushire just six days since. I asked him, with anxiety, for the answer to my letter, as the time for his return here had fully expired; but was mortified to learn that he had not yet gone beyond this on his way. It appeared that the Armenians, after engaging this man at my expense, had detained him three days at Shiraz, to collect the letters of others at a stipulated price, of which the messenger himself showed me a large packet: he gave us to understand, at the same time, that he was not engaged by them to convey my letter only, but considered himself as their servant, and thought the answer to be brought here to Kauzeroon was on their account also. This deceitful conduct of the Armenians was so like what I had seen of Eastern Christians generally, that my wonder was less than my disappointment. There was however only one remedy, namely, to omit paying them the sum stipulated, or insist on its being refunded if paid. It was now too late, however, to expect an answer from Bushire before we should be ready to set out from hence; and I accordingly took from the first messenger the original letter, and sent a second to Shiraz, expressing my hope of being there in a few days at farthest.

We proceeded to the garden, which is seated about a quarter of a mile to the west of the town, and found there a most agreeable retreat. The accommodation consisted of a small upper room facing the garden, and an open balcony looking towards the town, with galleries, and a terrace above. The garden itself was spacious and agreeable, and contained combinations not usually seen on the same soil; for we had long alleys of large orange trees, whose spreading branches completely over-canopied the walks; and the

date and the cypress, both in full perfection, flourishing close by each other.

The state of the air, too, was at this season as agreeable as it was possible to desire. There was a softness in it equal to that of an Italian autumn or the summer evenings of Greece, and a freshness not inferior to that of our own early spring. The storm that had burst on us but the preceding evening, had purified the atmosphere; and every tree, and bush, and blade of verdure, breathed forth a perfume, which at once delighted the senses and invigorated and expanded the mind. The heats of summer would seem, however, to be most oppressive here, judging from the inscriptions of some Indian invalids, who had come by this road into Persia for the recovery of their health; for, on the walls of the upper chamber, the state of the thermometer was marked in different months; one of which made it 101° at 5 P.M. in July 1815, and another at 104° and 106° in August 1816.

The house and garden in which we were thus happily lodged, belonged to the reigning Governor of the town, called Kazim Khan; and, like his permanent residence, it was of course transferable to his successors, as long as it might exist. A few servants were left in charge of it, merely to keep it in order; and these were permitted to admit strangers, either as visitors or sojourners, for a few days, since the presents they received from such, formed their only pay.

This garden was first made by a certain Imam Kooli Khan, who was Governor of Kauzeroon about fifteen years since; and from the then more flourishing state of the place, he lived in greater state and splendour than his successors have been able to do. His post was filled, after his death, by his son Mohammed Kooli Khan, who, said our informer, was then young and in the very blossom of life, when the passions are opening, and warmly susceptible of the seductive influence of pleasure. As this young man had come suddenly into the possession of both

wealth and power, he gave loose to his desires, and was surrounded by horses, servants, and slaves in public, and by numbers of the most beautiful women in the privacy of his harem.

A Dervish, whose name is not remembered here, happening to come this way from Bokhara and Samarçand, paid his morning visit to the Khan, as these men are privileged to do, without ceremony. In the conversation which arose between them, the Dervish, who it is said was a native of Upper India, from the district between Delhi and Caubul, explained to him, in the language of our narrator, some of the beauties of philosophy and the consolations of self-denial, and very powerfully contrasted them with the useless and unmeaning splendour of state, which never failed to bring with it a train of vexations and disappointments. The effect of his discourse was said to be so instantaneously convincing, that the young chief arose from his seat of state, resigned his government to another, and made a solemn vow of poverty and piety before God and the whole assembly, and became from thence the humble disciple of this hitherto unknown philosopher. After following him to Bagdad on foot, they remained together some time in that city, when the master died. The disciple still continued, however, to divide his time between the tombs of Imam Ali and Imam Hossein, at both of which places my Dervish, Ismael, remembered to have seen and conversed with him, though he did not then know his history.

He at length returned into Persia, and was now at Shiraz, where he still led a life of seclusion and contemplation, and had never once been known to express a regret for the abandonment of his former honours, or a wish to return again to the pleasures of the world.

This history, which was related to us by a Persian of Kauzeroon, gave rise to a long and warm conversation between myself and my Dervish, on the merit of the young Imam; and I must do my companion the justice to say, that though he set out with the warmest admiration of this man's abandonment of wealth and

power for poverty and insignificance, yet he at length confessed his conversion to my opinion, that, as a rich man, he might have done better by retaining his place, and, under his new convictions, exercising his power in doing good.

The discourse which followed this, on the various doctrines and practices of the many sects of Soofees which exist in Persia and the countries east of it, detained us until we were summoned to the prayer of sun-set by one of the clearest and most melodious voices that I had for a long time heard, issuing from the terrace of one of the mosques in Kauzeroon. The evening air was calm, every other sound was still, and Nature herself seemed sunk into an early repose, which heightened the effect of the holy summons. It reminded me very powerfully of a similar combination on the banks of the Nile, when, in an evening of equal serenity, I was so much charmed with the beautiful and impressive sounds of a Muezzin's voice echoing from the majestic ruins of the deserted Thebes, and calling men to the worship of the true God from amid the wreck of the fallen temples of idolatry.

Nov. 4th.—We passed a morning of great pleasure in the garden, and partook of a breakfast, brought us from the town, in a comfortable apartment of an unfurnished building at the bottom of it.

During the remainder of the day, we profited by our detention here, to see somewhat more of the town than we could have done by a mere passage through it. This task, however, occupied more of our time than was agreeable to me; and at last we returned from our ramble, without being much gratified with the pictures of ruin, desolation, poverty, and seeming discontent that met us at every step.

The town of Kauzeroon is thought by its present inhabitants to have been once so large as to have extended for several fursucks in length; but of this they offer no satisfactory proofs. It may however have been once nearly double its present size,

as vestiges of ruined buildings are seen on each side, beyond its present limits.

Its situation is in a valley of considerable length from north to south, but not more than five miles in general breadth from east to west. The town lies almost at the foot of the eastern boundary, which is a range of lime-stone mountains, broken into cliffs above, and smaller heaps below; and thus differing from its opposite one, the western range, which is more lofty, of an exceedingly steep slope, and mostly unbroken. The greatest length of the town, from north to south, is about a mile, and its breadth from east to west, somewhat less. Even this space, however, contains more ruined and deserted dwellings than inhabited ones; and these last are generally much inferior to what the destroyed ones once were. There are some vestiges of a wall with round towers in some places, but it is not easy to determine whether they are portions of an enclosure to the whole, or parts only of some fort within the town.

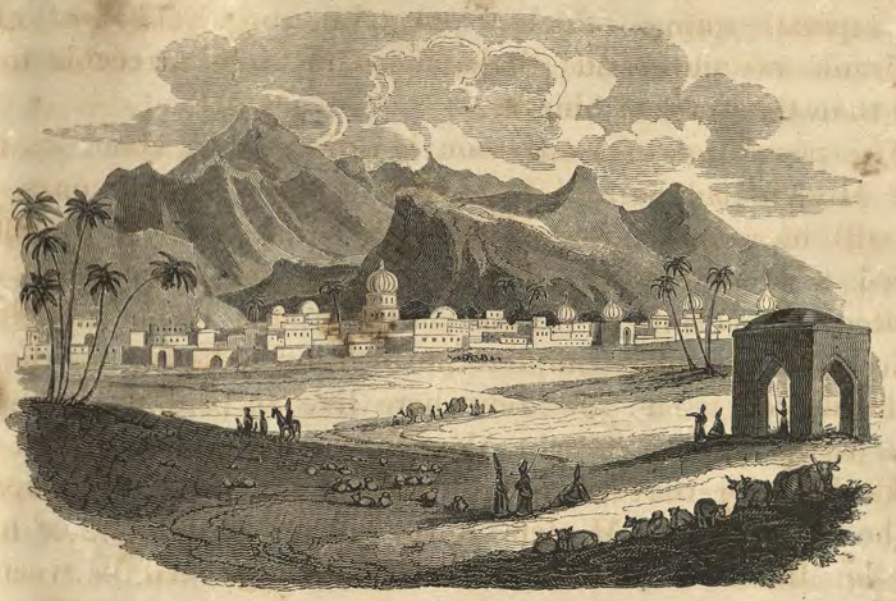
The residence of the governor, Kazim Khan, is the best and only conspicuous edifice among the whole; and this has little remarkable except the two square towers, called baudgheers, like those at Shiraz, which serve as wind-sails to convey air to the lower part of the house.

There are, besides, five mosques, five caravanseras, seven tombs of different holy men, mostly with small domes over them, and two small baths. The houses are built of unhewn stone, rudely placed in mortar, and the exterior plastered over with lime, which is abundant here. Some of the older buildings, were, however, of unburnt bricks; and there are among the ruins a number of sheds, simply matted over, and used as halts for passengers to smoke their nargeels, and refresh themselves on the way.

The cultivated land about the town appears insufficient to support even the few inhabitants here: horses, camels, sheep, and goats, find, however, a scanty pasture on the plain; and a few

date trees are the only productions of food for man. Water is said to be, in general, scarce here, though there are three or four separate springs which supply the town. That of which we drank was pure and wholesome, and more agreeable to the taste than the water of Shiraz.

The population of Kauzeroon is estimated at about six hundred Moslem families, all Sheeahs, and forty Jewish ones, who are still more poor and wretched than the rest. It is difficult indeed to describe how this race is despised, oppressed, and insulted, throughout all Persia; their touch being thought so unclean, as to render complete purification necessary on the part of the defiled. The few Jews here live as pedlars, and go in little parties on foot, carrying their loads of Indian spices on their backs, between Bushire and Shiraz. The principal occupation of the more wealthy Moslems is the purchase and sale of horses for the Indian market, and raising a cross-breed between the Turcoman and Arab race, which are called, from the name of the place, Kauzerooni, and are celebrated for their excellence as journeying, or road horses, but are inferior to the Arab in beauty, and to the Turcoman in strength. The lower orders of the people live by their humble labours; but among them there is no manufacture, except a particular kind of shoes made of plaited cotton, almost in the same way as ladies' straw-bonnets are made in Europe, and admirably adapted for strength and comfort to the wearer. These are made also in other parts of Persia, but are nowhere so good as here.



CHAPTER XX.

VISIT TO THE RUINS OF SHAPOOR, AND JOURNEY FROM THENCE TO BUSHIRE.

Nov. 6th.—We quitted Kauzeroon about an hour before day-light, and going nearly north-west across a plain, with thorny bushes on it, came soon after sun-rise to the village of Dereez; which, like the town we had quitted, presented more ruined dwellings than inhabited ones.

After a short stay here to procure a guide, we set out for Shapoor, going in a northern direction into a lower plain, covered with fertile soil, and abundantly watered, but being now mostly spread over with thorny trees and wild verdure. We saw here some groups of shepherd families living in the bushes, for their dwellings scarcely deserved the names of tents, and they were

altogether among the poorest and most destitute of all the pastoral tribes that I had ever seen.

In about an hour we came close under the foot of the eastern hills which bound the plain, and passed on our left two branches of the river Sasoon, which were called respectively Reza-abad, and Khoda-abad, lying close to each other, and afterwards winding in different directions through the plain. Above us, on the eastern hill, were the ruins of a castle, called Khallah Dokhter, very poorly built, of unhewn stone and mortar, and from its form apparently a recent Mohammedan work; but such portions of arches as remained in the lower part, though built, like the rest of the edifice, of these rude stones, were rather of the semicircular than pointed kind, though not strictly either. Below this castle was an extensive space, stretching westward from the foot of the hills, spread over with heaps of ruins, among which no one perfect edifice remained. These were all built of unhewn stones, and were humble private dwellings, to which no fixed date could be assigned.

After going over these heaps, we came to a bend of the river Sasoon, which flowed full and rapidly from the eastward in a deep bed, so thickly bordered with wild shrubs, trees, and tall rushes, of twenty feet high, that though we heard the loud noise of the current, we could not through these obstacles distinguish its stream.

A few paces afterwards, we made a short turn round to the eastward, and came into a pass of about a furlong wide, called Teng-e-Chikoon. The highest part of the perpendicular cliffs on each side was nearly three hundred feet, and the southern one was directly at the back of the castle we had seen, which was no doubt constructed expressly to guard this pass. This led into a small round valley to the eastward of it, through which the river Sasoon flowed down, between banks covered with rushes.

On going through this pass, on the southern side of the stream, we came first to a large tablet in the cliff, the sculpture

of which was much injured by the decomposition of the rock. As far as we could trace it, it represented two chiefs on horseback, meeting each other, the right-hand one having his horse's feet placed on a dead body extended horizontally beneath, and before him a figure on foot, apparently in an attitude of supplication. These figures were about the size of life, in tolerably full relief, and appeared to have been finely executed, but were considerably injured.

A few paces beyond this, still on the same side of the stream, and in the southern cliff, but much higher up from the common level of the pass, we came to a larger tablet, filled with a greater number of figures, and divided into separate compartments.

In the central compartment a chief was seen on horseback, having bushy hair and flying ribands from behind, and an egg-like globe, standing with its smaller end on a Norman crown, as seen on the Sassanian medals. His own dress was flowing in multiplied folds; but the caparison of his horse was simple, the bridle of the kind used in the present day, and a breast-piece formed of plates of metal. By his right side was a quiver for arrows, though no other weapon was visible. Beneath the feet of his horse, a figure was seen extended horizontally, as if dead: another was in the act of supplication by kneeling, and extending his clasped hands before him; and a third he held in his right hand, as if to present him to the supplicator. These were all three in the dresses of Roman soldiers,—a short tunic or shirt, extending only to the knees, a mantle clasped over the right shoulder, and a straight sword hanging in a belt on the left side. Neither beards nor mustachios were worn by either, and only a small portion of short curly hair was seen beneath a smooth cap, that fitted close to the skull, and was filleted round by a thick ring, as the Bedouin Arabs fasten their keffeahs in the Desert. This was a deviation from Roman costume, as well as the plain rings or anklets which were seen on their feet. Behind the supplicating figure, were two soldiers standing; the first presenting the supplicator, and the second

extending his clasped hands to implore for him also. The dresses of these were somewhat different; for, though they had each the short tunic, the straight sword, and a mantle clasped before, instead of on, the shoulder, they had high helmets bending forward at the top, of the oldest Grecian form; the style of countenance was also different from the three others described, and they had mustachios, but no beards. Above the head of the chief's horse, and hovering at the same time over the supplicator, was seen a winged genius, presenting something, with two broad flying ribands extending from each end; and, between the head of the horse and the supplicator, was an inscription, written sideways, in Sassanian characters.

In the upper left compartment are six men on horseback, having close, straight, and high caps, not unlike that of the Delhi horsemen of Turkey, but somewhat lower, and rounded instead of flat at the top. These have short straight hair, short close beards, neatly trimmed, smooth at their edge on the cheek, in the manner of the Turks, and all hold up their right arms, and extend their fore-finger upwards.

In the compartment below this, are six other horsemen, in exactly the same dress and the same attitude; but these have the bushy hair of their chief, and were, perhaps, more distinguished guards, as there is only this difference between them and the others.

In the first upper compartment on the right are three men on foot, each holding a standard. Their dresses are simply a short shirt, girded round the waist, and they have no arms whatever. The first has bushy hair, a long sharp beard, and a high pointed bonnet; the second has short curly hair, with a very small bush behind, and no beard, nor any covering on his head; the third, who holds his standard with both hands, and is standing at ease, has long curly hair, and a high bonnet, which falls behind at the point, like the cap of liberty. These two have anklets also.

In the next compartment to this, are three men on foot, with

short dresses, and long straight swords: these have mustachios only; their heads are high and narrow at the top, and their hair is cut, trimmed, and plaited in the form of a Welsh wig. What they hold in their right hands is not distinctly seen; and two of them seem to have scrolls of paper in their left. These wear loose trowsers beneath their shirts, and no neckcloths. They follow each other closely, standing in a firm attitude, and the style of their heads and countenances is quite peculiar. The next compartment appears never to have been sculptured at all.

The first lower compartment on the right contains three men on foot, with short shirts, trowsers, and sandals, without beards or mustachios, and helmets fitting close to the brow and skull, and falling broad over the neck and shoulders. The first of these holds something in his right hand, in the act of presenting it, but it is not distinct: the other two have short spears in theirs, and each has a long straight sword, with a most disproportionately long handle.

The next compartment, following still to the right, contains three men on foot, with short shirts, girded around the waist by cords, neatly knotted before, in a peculiar way, and loose flowing trowsers. These have mustachios only, short hair, with a small bush of curls behind, and are without any covering for the head. The first holds in his right hand a ring, with his arm extended in a right angle with his body; the second rests his left hand on his waist; and the third seems to hold a scroll in his extended right hand.

The last compartment contains a repetition of the last three figures, whose short shirts are girded with cords in the same way as the former, but are curved upward at the bottom, while the others are straight, and hemmed or bordered. Their trowsers are the same; and, like the former figures, these are unarmed. The first holds up, between both his hands, something in the shape of a brick or hewn stone; the second bears what is more like a hand-saw, of the shape still used in Persia, than any thing with which I

could compare it; and the last has a circular vessel, like a very large globular bottle, with a straight neck. These two last compartments may possibly be meant to represent unarmed artificers, and relate to the founding and building of the city, as there are here stones or bricks, water, and tools.

The figures in these sculptures are all as large as life, and in little less than half-relief. The horses are very fine; all the figures are well drawn, in good proportions, and the difference of feature, style of countenance and costume, is very striking.

From hence we went across the stream, which was narrow, rapid, and deep enough to take us up beyond the middle, with no path for our horses; the water was sweet, and beautifully transparent. After long exertion we made a path through the thick rushes, and came up to a large tablet, in which were sculptured two colossal figures on horseback, facing each other: the one on the left had simply a high bush of curled hair, coming up through the centre of a plain crown, and held in his right hand a ring, which he seemed to offer to the other. The one on the right, which appeared in other respects to be the principal figure, was distinguished by the elevated globe rising from the centre of a radiated diadem, and in his right hand he held a flying riband, with something in the middle like the emblem of the winged genius, on the other side; and this he appeared also to present to the other horseman. The dresses and general style of the whole were like that of the chief on the other side; but the figures here are nearly double the size of life, and in proportionately full relief. Behind the principal hero is an inscription rudely cut.

Beneath this rock ran a channel for water, probably of more recent date; as the stream has there worn away the bottom of the sculpture. Some Mohammedan visitor had taken the pains to inscribe his name on the hard rock between the heads of the horses, in a way that must have cost him nearly a day to perform; but there was no date to it. The tradition of the people here is that

both the town and castle were destroyed in the first ages of Mohammedism, when the zeal against infidels was at its highest.

A few yards east of this, and higher up in the cliff, is a large tablet, divided into five compartments. In the central one above, and fronting the spectator, sits the principal personage, whose most remarkable distinction is the enormous bushes of hair on each side of his head, and on the top. The style of it is exactly in the fashion used to this day by the Samauli negroes, on the coast of Adel, near the entrance of the Red Sea. With his right hand he leans on a thick staff or spear, and his left is placed on the hilt of a straight sword, on which he also rests, holding it perpendicularly before him. The seat of this chief is not visible; but he uses the European posture, like the old sitting figures at Thebes and Persepolis.

In the left upper compartment are ten or twelve figures in different costumes, mostly like those on the other side, and, as far as I could distinguish, some of them seemed to be presenting other persons to the chief.

In the upper right compartment were about the same number of figures, in the same variety of dresses; but the design was more distinct, as here guards are evidently bringing in prisoners, some of whom are bound, others have their arms folded in an attitude of defiance, and others again are preparing to resist the force used to push them on, though they are unarmed.

In the left-hand lower compartment are an equal number of persons, mostly in the same dresses, with bushy hair and long swords, on which they are leaning with folded arms. At the head of them, a groom with a close head-dress of a different kind from any of the others, leads a small horse, which has a mattara, or leathern water-bottle, hanging by its side, as now used in Persia, and ready for the journey.

In the right-hand lower compartment is, first, an executioner presenting in each hand a dissevered head to the chief above. Behind him stands a little boy holding fast by his short garment.

Next follow prisoners bound, executioners with large axes of a peculiar shape, others bringing vases, and a little boy riding on an elephant, of excellent shape, but disproportionately small size.

About a hundred yards north-west of this, in the same cliff, and to be got at by going along the channel for water at the foot of the rock, is a large tablet, excavated in a concave form, and divided into seven compartments.

In the first division, beginning on the upper corner on the left, are about fifteen horsemen, with dresses and helmets as in the first compartment on the other side, each extending their right arms, and holding out their fore-fingers.

Opposite to this, on the right, comes, first, one who holds a ring, and is followed by chiefs and men of distinction, with short loose shirts and trowsers, short hair, mustachios, and bare heads. The first of this train holds a sceptre or mace, and has a wide scarf flowing from behind him; the second holds a cup; the next, a sword; the two next are indistinct; the one following has the egg-like emblem of the king, without his crown, held horizontally or lengthwise on his hand; the last has also a cup;—and all these are on foot. In the second compartment, on the left, the same design is almost exactly repeated,—the parties, however, are here all on horseback.

Opposite to this, on the right, are figures with the same dresses as those above, except that they have close caps on their heads, while the curly heads of the others are bare. The first of these figures is indistinct; the three next, by crossing their spears on each other's shoulders, carry on them a bale packed with two broad bands; the next carries on his back a bag full of something; the next holds a basket in his hand; and the last bears a long package on his head, while a lion walks beside him. This must evidently relate to the bringing in of spoils from some conquest.

In the centre of a long compartment below these, spreading the whole breadth of the tablet, is the chief, in the same dress as before, his horse treading on an extended body, a suppliant kneeling

before him, and he holding another with the same dress, in his right-hand. It is, in short, a perfect miniature of the large design described on the other side, except that here, instead of the attitudes of the two soldiers standing before, one of them, in a Sassanian dress, is presenting the chief with a ring in the usual way. Above is the winged genius, but I could perceive no inscription. Behind them are men leading a mule, to judge by the form of its tail; one bearing a large burthen on his head, and followed by another riding on an elephant; while above them, in the same compartment, are six bareheaded figures, shrouded in loose drapery, like veils or mantles hung before them. Behind the sovereign, in the left of the same compartment, are fifteen or sixteen horsemen, the first five of which only have the bushy hair of the chief; and as these were probably officers, it confirms the idea of this being a mark of distinction.

In the left-hand compartment below, the same design of horsemen is repeated,—the dresses being also the same, and the hair of all the figures short and uncurled.

In the right-hand lower compartment, the first figure seems, by his bare head and long robes, to be a priest: with one hand he leans on a staff, with the other he holds the egg-like emblem horizontally, as if to present it to his sovereign. Next follows one in the same dress and the same attitude, bearing a large vase. After this, one in a Roman dress, with the short shirt, and mantle clasped on the right shoulder, bears a standard in his right-hand, and with his left holds the reins of two horses, or, judging by their long ears, perhaps very handsome mules, who draw a chariot of three stages, with small but broad round wheels. Over the heads of the mules, another figure, also bareheaded, and in the same Roman dress, holds the egg horizontally in both hands, extended aloft to their full stretch. The two succeeding figures are much broken, but seem to be men bearing small heavy sacks, as if of treasure, on their backs.

The figures in the compartments to the right of, or fronting

the sovereign, who looks that way, are all on foot, except the driver of the elephant; and on the other side, or behind him, they are all on horseback.*

A Mohammedan visitor had here also sculptured some Arabic inscriptions. The figures of this tablet are small, but in full relief, and of more finished execution than any of the other side.

About a quarter of a mile west-south-west of this, and among heaps of ruined dwellings, are the remains of a small square edifice, which was probably a temple of worship, as it consisted of only one apartment. It is not more than fifty feet square, and faced north-north-west and south-south-east. It is deep in the inside beyond the common level, and is filled with green bushes. The north-north-west wall is standing, and would seem to be the front; but there is a great peculiarity in it, as there is no door of entrance in this, nor the mark of one in any other of the sides. It has an arched window cut in a single stone, and this not placed in the centre of the building. On the top are the mutilated bodies of four sphynxes, which face inward to the edifice; so that it would seem from this, not to have been roofed originally. The stones are large, well hewn, extremely regular in shape, which is an oblong square, and joined with much greater skill than those in the platform of Persepolis, though, from being a soft lime-stone, the edges are more worn and rounded. The walls are about fifteen feet thick: the space between the inner and outer facing being filled up with unhewn stones, imbedded in lime; and this, as a piece of masonry, is quite equal to Roman works in general. This place is called Ser-a-goh, or the cow's head, from the supposed resemblance of the sphynxes to cows.

About a quarter of a mile to the south-west of this, going through heaps of ruined dwellings, all of a common kind, we

* Sapor, or Shahpoor, the Sassanian monarch from whom this city was named, was conducted to Antioch by a Pageant Emperor of his election, who wore the purple of the Cæsars. —*History of Persia*, vol. i p. 98.

found a large square enclosure, called the Mesjid, or Mosque: The interior of the open space presented two portions of wall belonging to some small edifice of ancient date, the plan of which could not be traced. It had since been built on by more modern and inferior works. Close to this were the fragments of two pillars; the shafts of which were plain, formed of many small divisions, and about three feet in diameter, but no capitals were near. The exterior wall of this enclosure was of very inferior masonry; and from loop-holes in the top, and the appearance of a parapet there, it seemed to have been once used as a fort. Its dimensions were about a hundred feet square. There was near this the domed sepulchre of an Imam Zadé, whose name we did not learn; and among the tombs of those around it were some of five, and others of three hundred years old, the inscriptions of which were in Arabic. The dead were called by our companions 'Shapoori,' or natives of Shapoor. This, however, throws no light on the latest date to which the city itself existed, as the people inhabiting the plain are still called Shapoori, and are still interred near the tomb of this revered saint.*

We went from hence to gain the main road by striking across the cultivated land in a south-easterly direction, and our way was full of difficulties from the canals and bushes which impeded it. We were in some degree rewarded by being thrown on two small fire altars, which lay detached from every other portion of ruin, and bore exactly south-east, distant about a quarter of a mile from the supposed fort that we had left.

* In the reign of Baharam, the son of Hoormuz, and grandson of Shahpoor, the city of this name appears to have been the capital of the empire. It was then that the celebrated Mani, the founder of the sect of the Manicheans, flourished; and in a book called Ertang, he endeavoured to reconcile the doctrines of the Metempsychosis, as taught by the Hindoos, and the two principles of Good and Evil of Zoroaster, with the tenets of the Christian religion. He returned to a cavern, after the fashion of impostors, and brought out from thence paintings and writings, which he pretended to have received from Heaven, and called himself the Paraclete, or Comforter, promised by Jesus to follow him; but he and all his disciples were at length put to death by Baharam, and the skin of the impostor was stripped off, and hung up at the gate of the city of Shapoor.—*History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 101.

These were of the same semi-pyramidal shape as the ones hewn in the rock near Persepolis, and about the same size, of three feet in height, and eighteen inches square. They were however fed with fire by a square passage, which went right through them, about midway up the height, and had a large square opening going from the centre of this to the top, for the ascent of the flame and smoke. They were both perfect, extremely portable; and as both together would form only a load for a strong mule, they might be brought away from the spot, and taken to Bushire with ease.*

Our remaining way to Derees was over the same fertile and well-watered soil, now choked with thorns and wild grass, on which cattle were feeding; and it was past sun-set when we reached the place, where we had the satisfaction of finding the messenger returned with our horses and baggage from Shiraz, and a comfortable shelter and meal provided for us.

Nov. 7th.—We left Derees two hours before daylight, on our way to Bushire. In an hour from hence we reached the Rah Dan, where an alarm was given at our approach. Soon after, we came to a long and narrow ascending pass, called Terz-e-Turkoon, and, crossing this, came out into a fine plain. In an hour afterwards we reached its boundary, having on the right a long village called Kanaredj, and by the road-side a small caravansera. This led us to the brow of a lofty hill, which we descended by the Kotel Kanaredj. A Rah Dan was placed here also in a narrow passage, through mountains of lime-stone, slate, and veins of quartz. Some of the cliffs were very rugged, with almost perpendicular strata; and the roads were extremely bad. This Kotel, or Pass, took us an hour to clear. In half an hour from

* Near Baka, in Mazanduan, are some ancient places of fire worship of a singular kind. They are arched vaults built of stone, over a part of the soil from whence flame issues, as at Karkook; and a cane or pipe being fixed into the ground near the altar, a light burns up through it like the blue flame of spirits, but more pure; and to one of these temples even Hindoo pilgrims are said to resort from the distant banks of the Ganges.—*History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 261.

its foot we reached a small village of huts, called Khish, with some ruined houses: and in half an hour afterwards we alighted at the caravansera of Koneh Takhta, where we refreshed. This village contains only a few houses and huts, seated in the centre of a fine and extensive plain, to the north of which were large groves of trees and gardens.

From hence in two hours we came to another Rah Dan, which stood on the brow of the last range of hills we had to descend, by the steep pass called Kotel Dahlikee. When we reached the valley below this descent, we found a fine clear stream of water, running rapidly through a deep bed to the westward, but nearly as salt as the sea, so that our horses, thirsty as they were, would not touch it. This Kotel was extremely long, consisting of two or three stages, and was most fatiguing to our animals and ourselves. We came at length to a point, from which we could see nothing before us but one continued plain, and the blue line of the sea in the western horizon,—an object I had not witnessed for many months, and one which gave me as much delight to behold again, as was experienced by the Greeks under Xenophon, when they first saw the Euxine in their retreat from Asia to Greece. It was sun-set before we reached the bottom of this pass, when we turned around to the south to enter the large village of Dahlikee, where we found shelter in a new and good caravansera.

Nov. 8th.—We remained here only just to feed and repose our horses, and set out again before midnight. We went southerly along the foot of the hills, as on our right was swampy ground; and in our way we passed some foetid pools, and were plagued with flies and musquitoes: the night was calm and warm.

The road gradually turning off to the south-west, we came in about five hours to the large scattered village of Bárazgoon, seated among palm-trees, and four fursucks from Dahlikee. From hence we were two hours going across the plain to a smaller village, called Seeroond; and in two hours more we reached the station of Ahmedee, which is accounted by the

people to be ten fursucks from Duhlikee, but which we thought to be only eight.

The water here was exceedingly good: but the people were poor, and nothing was to be had except some small dried fish like smelts, with a few dates, and bad bread. The inhabitants all now began to look more like Arabs than Persians. Having reposed here under a tree, we fed our horses, and soon after sun-set mounted again. We followed the great road across the plain, in a south-south-west direction, and after about two fursucks, passed a cluster of date-trees on our left, where a caravan was halting. This place had no houses, but was called Chartak.

In four hours from thence we reached the walls of Bushire; but as it was night, we could gain no admission within the gates, so that we had to wait outside until sun-rise. The sound and the smell of the sea were most gratifying to me: but we slept but little, from the going out of the women and asses in the morning, long before daylight, to fetch water for the day from the wells in the plain.

Nov. 9th.—We entered the gate of Bushire at sun-rise, rode to the British factory, and, leaving our horses, went straight to the bath; after which, we walked through the dirty and sandy town to the Resident's house. There we found a cordial reception from a large party of my countrymen who were staying with the Resident, and were furnished with a room, in which I passed a day of complete repose.

CHAPTER XXI.

STAY AT BUSHIRE—ITS TOWN, PORT, COMMERCE, AND INHABITANTS.

My stay at Bushire was in many respects agreeable, as, among the English gentlemen there, were some few whose society was such as would lessen the tedium of any place of exile, which this might really be considered. My Dervish, Ismael, insisted on remaining with me till I embarked for India, and repeated his assurance that if the remainder of my way to that country were not by sea, an element of which he had an indescribable horror, he would accompany me to the last stage of my journey: and when we parted, which we did with mutual regret, he spurned the idea of receiving a single piastre for his journey. He had accompanied me, he said, from pure esteem and affection, though the journey was so long

and perilous; and he should return as he came, without asking of me any thing beyond some token or memento: though even that he should never require to remind him of the frank and open-hearted Hadjee of Egypt. I indulged him in his wishes; parted from him on the day of our sailing, with no other gift or exchange than mutual pledges of friendship and esteem; and subsequently heard, by an Arabic letter from himself, received by me while in India, of his safe return and happy meeting with his friends at Bagdad, about the period of my reaching Calcutta.

The information I collected, from personal observations made during my stay at Bushire, will be found embodied in the following description:—

The town of Bushire, or, as the inhabitants call it, Abu Shahr,* is seated in a low peninsula of sand, extending out from the general line of the coast, so as to form a bay on each side. Its geographical position has been pretty accurately determined to be in lat. 29° 0′ north, and in long. 50° 48′ east, as the result of many repeated observations. The appearance of the town, on approaching it either from the land or the sea, is rather agreeable than otherwise, and promises more than it is afterwards found to contain. From the edge of the coast, on which it stands, a level plain extends behind it for a distance of more than forty miles in a straight line, where it terminates at the foot of the first range of hills between Bushire and Shiraz, and where the mountainous part of Persia may be said to commence. These hills, being abrupt and lofty, form a fine background to the view in clear weather, and their distance giving them the blue haze which often leaves only their outlines distinct, they afford a picturesque relief to the monotony of the scenery near the coast. The town itself is seated so nearly on a level with the water's edge, that the tops of the houses are first perceived as if rising out of the sea. The general aspect presents a number of tall square towers, called baudgeers, or wind-catchers, and constructed with passages for air, during the ex-

* From the Arabic ابوشهر literally, the Father of Cities.

cessive heat of summer, to ventilate the houses over which they are erected. The dwellings are all flat-roofed and terraced, and mostly built of a light-coloured and friable madrapore, or coralline; and as there are no domes or minarets seen among them, and a total absence of trees, gardens, or verdure, the whole picture is of a dull, grey, sandy hue, particularly uninviting, and even fatiguing to the view under a sultry sky: indeed, except when the weather is sufficiently clear to unveil the mountains of the background, it possesses no relief; but the only contrast it offers is a change from the blue surface of a level sea to the yellow plains of a parched and sandy desert as level as itself.

On landing, the scene is not at all improved: the town is now found to stand partly on a slight eminence, which is greatest in its centre, and is not more than one hundred feet at its highest elevation from the sea. From thence it shelves gently down to the beach on either side, where the houses are literally built upon the sands. The whole number of dwellings does not amount to more than fifteen hundred; of which one-third, at least, are reed enclosures, scarcely deserving even the name of huts, as most of them are unroofed, and are inhabited by none but slaves and the very lowest order of the people. The houses are built chiefly of a friable stone composed of sand and shells imbedded in clay; and the best of them are constructed of burnt bricks brought from Bussorah. The style of architecture is that which prevails in Arabia generally, with slight additions of the Persian kind. The buildings are large, square, flat-roofed, laid out in central courts and small apartments, badly lighted; and often as badly aired. Excepting the East India Company's factory, the residence of the Governor, and a few good dwellings of the merchants, particularly the Armenians, there is scarcely one comfortable, and certainly not one handsome edifice in the place. The streets are so many narrow alleys, without sufficient height of wall on either side to shelter the passenger from the sun, the only advantage that narrow streets possess; and they are totally with-

out order or regularity in their windings and direction. The mosques are all open buildings, without domes or minarets, and are inferior both in general appearance without, and in their neatness within, to those seen in the smallest villages of Arabia. Coffee-houses there are none that I remember to have seen, as this beverage is not much in use among the inhabitants. The only bath that exists here, is small, mean, filthy, and badly attended; and the bazaars are simply benches covered by a roof of matted rafters, of the most wretched appearance. There are one or two good caravanseras near the landing-place for boats, occupied by and belonging to Armenian merchants; but those belonging to the Mohammedans hardly deserve the name.

The town is open to the north-east, which fronts the inner harbour; to the south-west, which fronts the outer roads; and is enclosed only across the peninsula by a poor wall extending from sea to sea, and in which is the gate of exit and entrance to and from Persia. There is nothing in all this that can deserve the name of a fortification: and the only defence which it presents towards an enemy, is a few dismounted guns, without this gate, on the land side; a battery of six or eight nearly abreast of the factory, in the south-west quarter of the town; and half a dozen others, placed before the Custom-house, in the north-east quarter, and facing the inner harbour,—all of them of different calibre, and mounted on carriages of such a crazy kind, as would certainly fall to pieces on a second or third discharge. On the south-west side, which faces the outer roads, it is all a level sandy beach, which, from its being shoal water near it, is beat on by an almost constant surf, though not of such violence as to prevent the landing of boats in moderate weather. The north-east, which faces the inner harbour, has a wharf or two for landing goods on, and is altogether better sheltered; though, from the number of the sand banks, and the diversity of channels between this place and the shipping, it is not easily accessible even in boats, except to those, in some degree

acquainted with the shoals; but it is always preferred as the safest and best landing-place.

The population of Bushire has been variously estimated, and has no doubt been at a very different standard at different periods. At present, the most favourable accounts do not make it more than ten thousand, and the true number is perhaps still less. The Ahl-el-Bushire, or the *race* of Bushire, as they are emphatically called, present a disagreeable mixture of the Arab and the Persian; in which whatever is amiable in either character seems totally rejected, and whatever is vicious in both is retained and even cherished. These form the great body of the people; and their dress, their language, their manners, and their general appearance, —all bespeak their mongrel breed. The chief occupations of these are trade and commerce on a confined scale, fishing, pilotage, and the navigation of their own vessels of the port. In person, they are neither so meagre nor so swarthy as the real Arabs of the opposite coast; but they are equally ill-featured and dirty, and destitute of the high spirit, the feeling of honour, and the warm hospitality which distinguish these: they retain, however, all their meanness in bargains, and their disposition for robbery and plunder of property not attainable by better means. Their dress is equally a combination of the Arab and Persian garments, without being purely the costume of either. The shirt, trowsers, and zuboon, or outer garment, are Persian; but the turban and the abba, or cloak, are Arabic,—the one is formed of the blue checked cloth of Muscat, or the brown cloth of Shooster; and the other of the manufacture of Lahsa, Kateef, and Coete, on the opposite shore. The black sheepskin cap, the most peculiar feature of the Persian dress, is worn only by such as come down from the higher country and remain as sojourners here, and is in no instance used by a native of Bushire. The common language is Persian, but of so harsh and corrupt a kind, that the natives of Shiraz, who pride themselves on the purity of their tongue, affect to treat it as almost

unintelligible; and short as is the distance, and constant as is the communication between these places, I scarcely ever remarked a greater difference than there is between their different pronunciations of the same words: the one is a model of the most harmonious utterance; the other is nearly as harsh as the most ill-spoken Arabic. This last language is understood by most of the natives of Bushire; but they have as little elegance in their way of pronouncing this, as they have in speaking their own tongue; and one must hear the Arabic of Bushire, to comprehend how harsh and disagreeable its sounds are capable of being made. This double corruption is the more striking, as they live close to, and in constant communication with Shiraz, where Persian is spoken in its greatest purity; and they both trade with and receive frequent visitors from Coete, or Graen, on the opposite coast, where the Arabic is spoken with all the softness and harmony of which it is susceptible, and in a way superior to that of any other part of Arabia in which I had heard it.

The merchants of Bushire are composed about equally of Persians and Armenians. The latter, however, are men of more extensive connexions with India; and as they possess more activity, intelligence, and integrity of dealing, so they are more wealthy; and this, with the countenance which they receive from the Company's Resident here, is sufficient to give them considerable influence in the place. There are no Jews of any note, as at Bussorah; nor Banians, as at Muscat;—the Armenians supplying the place of both, as brokers and agents for others, as well as traders on their own account; and as these both write and speak English and Hindostanee, they are more generally useful to maritime men, and mercantile visitors from India.

The Governor of the town, Sheik Abd-el-Russool, is of a family long resident here, and he exercises all the responsible functions of the government, though he has an uncle, Sheik Mohammed, in whose presence he himself stands, and to whom he always yields the greatest honours. Both of these, when they walk out, are

attended by a guard of about twenty armed men, as well as servants; yet these add nothing even to the apparent dignity of the persons whom they attend. It is the daily practice of both these chiefs to come down before noon, and after El-Assr, to the sea-side, fronting the harbour, where they sit on the bench of a miserable matted hut, erected for that purpose, and derive great satisfaction from the salutes of passengers, and from observing what may be doing among the shipping. When Sheik Mohammed, who is the eldest, but not the actual Governor, happens to be there, his nephew first stands at a respectful distance, with his hands folded beneath his cloak. He is then desired to seat himself, which he does frequently on the ground, and in the humblest and most obscure place that he can find behind his uncle. After some time he is desired to advance forward, and he ventures to change his first seat for a better one; and this farce continues, until, after repeated invitations, he becomes seated in front of his superior, while all the rest stand; but he never shares the same bench with his relative.

The forces of this government vary in number and description at every different period of the year, as they are mostly composed of persons whose services are demanded at the exigency of the moment; so that there are sometimes not an hundred, and at others more than a thousand in pay at once. These, like the soldiers of all the Turkish, Persian, and Arabian countries, are mostly horsemen, paid by the chiefs whom they serve, without discipline or uniformity of dress, and furnishing even their own arms and accoutrements at their own caprice. The Governor is nominally subject to the Prince of Shiraz, and through him to the King of Persia, to whom he pays a yearly tribute; but this is often withheld on slight pretexts, and nothing but the power to be able to maintain an independence is wanted, since the disposition manifests itself on almost every occasion.

Notwithstanding the meanness of Bushire as a town, it is the best, excepting Bussorah only, that now exists in the whole of the

Persian Gulf. It possesses considerable importance, when considered as the only port of such an extensive empire as Persia; for it is through this channel alone that all her supplies from India by sea are received. The former splendour of Ormuz and Gombroon, or Bunder Abassi, at the entrance of the Gulf, is known to have been derived from their commerce only, when they stood in the same relation to Persia generally, as depôts for maritime commerce, that Bushire does at present. The history and the fate of these settlements are known to every one. They were once splendid cities: they are now no more. Whether this be a fate that awaits Bushire, or not, would be difficult to prophesy; but as it has never attained for its merchants the wealth which the liberality and munificence of Abbas the Great allowed his subjects to acquire; and as its trade, though sufficiently extensive, is crippled by the overwhelming pressure of a long train of exactions continued from the sea to the inland capital; it is likely that it will never arrive at the pitch of opulence to which Ormuz and Gombroon attained, nor, for a long period at least, sink to the utter desolation of these proud marts, since no change can be so much for the worse as to effect such a total abandonment.

The trade at present existing between Persia and India admits of the average arrival of twelve or fifteen merchant-ships yearly from Bengal and Bombay. Not more than half their cargo is however landed here; and often not more than a third, as a portion of it is usually taken out at Muscat, and a still larger portion goes on to Bussorah. From Bengal are brought rice, sugar, indigo, pepper, and spices, with a small assortment of muslin and piece-goods. From Bombay are imported the annual supplies of iron, steel, tin, lead, and woollen-cloths, sent by the East India Company, and continued to be sold yearly at a loss, in consequence of their being obliged by their charter to export a certain quantity of these articles annually from Great Britain, and to force a market for them where they can. The productions of China, ir- sugar, sugar-candy, preserved ginger, camphor, and

porcelain, are also brought from Bombay, as well as cassia, cloves, nutmegs, and other productions of the Eastern Isles. These are all taken up into Persia by caravans of mules, which pass regularly between this place and Shiraz. The rice and sugar of Bengal often find their way to Bahrein, and other islands of the Persian Gulf, as well as the coffee of Mokha, which is shipped at Muscat, in order to fill up the vacant room left by goods being discharged there. The rice of Persia is preferable to that of India, and coffee is not a very general beverage in this country, though it is all over Arabia, which sufficiently accounts for the diversion of these two articles into other channels.

The returns for these imports are made in Persian horses, supplied by contract for the East India Company's cavalry; in old copper, collected in the interior, in domestic utensils, &c. and sent to Bengal; in assafœtida, an article much used in the cookery of India; in dried fruits, particularly almonds, small raisins, quinces, and apricots; in carpets for Mohammedan prayers, for mosques, and for private apartments, the manufacture of the country; in otto of roses and rose-water, in small quantities; and in Shiraz wine. All these articles do not amount, however, to one-third the value of the imports; so that the residue is made up in money. This consists of Spanish and German dollars, a few Venetian sequins, and other gold coins, but mostly of Persian rupees. The freight of all articles from India to Bushire is nearly the same as from India to Bussorah; and the bulky articles of return are also taken back at the same rate. In treasure, however, there is this difference, that while from Bussorah it pays three per cent. to Bombay, and four per cent. to Bengal, the last risk being nearly double that of the first; from Bushire they are both paid alike, at only three per cent. equally for Bombay and Calcutta; and the only explanation that one can get for this inconsistency of making no advance of freight, when the distance, the time, and the risk, are all doubled, is, that it is an old custom, and cannot be broken through.

The duties on merchandize exported and imported are regulated by the package and quality of the goods, and not fixed by a per centage on their value. Rice and sugar pay each half a rupee per bag; sugar-candy, a rupee per tub; indigo, fifteen rupees per chest; pepper, cassia, cloves, cardamoms, and other spices, six rupees per bag; camphor, two rupees per box; China ware, four rupees per chest; Mokha coffee, two rupees per bale; and sweetmeats, three rupees per package. The duties on Indian piece-goods vary considerably, according to their quality, but average at about ten per cent.; and those on the European articles, of cloth, iron, steel, lead, and tin, at not more than five per cent. on their invoice price. The duties on the exports or returns are still less: horses and money, which form the greatest portion of these returns, are both exempt from duties of any kind, as well as old copper, and Persian carpets; dried fruits pay only one rupee per package; assafœtida, a rupee per jar; rose-water, two rupees per case of several bottles; and Shiraz wine is free.

It is a common practice for the Governor to appropriate to himself such of the merchandize passing through his port as may be convenient to himself, either for his own immediate use, or to speculate in as an article of commerce; but, instead of paying for such goods when thus taken, he suffers the amount to stand over as a balance in favour of the owners of them, to be liquidated by remitting them the duties on further imports, till the amount is made up. This is naturally an obnoxious mode of dealing, in the estimation of the merchants; but they have no remedy. During our stay here, the Governor was engaged in a war with some villages on the plain behind the town, and was much in want of lead for musket-balls. This want, instead of increasing the demand for, and consequently the price of the article, as it would naturally have done under any well-regulated government, had actually the effect of stopping the supplies of this metal, which were laid in expressly for the place. A vessel lying in the roads had on board several hundred slabs of lead, shipped at

Bombay for Bushire; but the owner of them, fearing that if they were landed, the Governor's agents would seize them for their master's use, on the usual condition of the long payments described, requested the captain not to land them here, and paid additional freight for carrying them on to Bussorah, where even an uncertain market was better than the ruinous one to which they would come here, by falling into the Governor's hands. Under such a system, light as the duties on merchandize may be, commerce can hardly be expected to flourish; and the fact is, that there is a disinclination to speculate beyond the actual consumption, and a fear and restraint in all commercial undertakings, which is destructive of the activity that commerce requires to make it advance, or even to keep it alive.

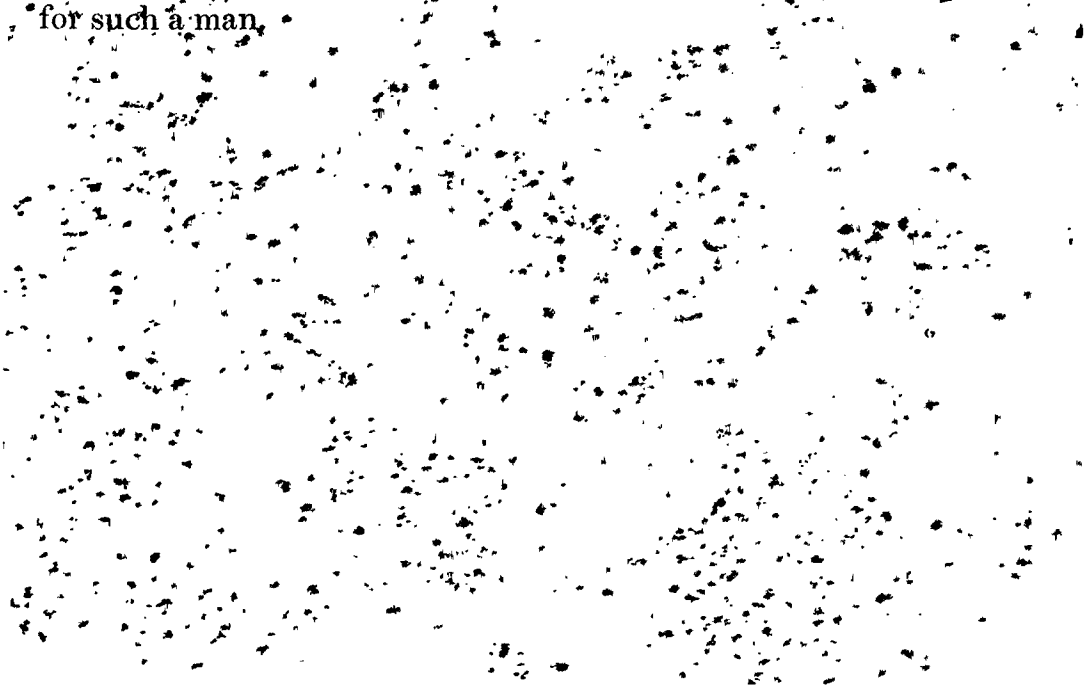
As a sea-port, Bushire has no one good quality to recommend it. The anchorage of the outer roads in four fathoms water, is at least six miles from the shore, and is so exposed to the full fury of the north-west and south-east gales, which prevail here, that whenever it blows a single-reef breeze, no boats can communicate between the town and the vessel, and no supplies or information be received; while the ship herself rides as heavily as in the open ocean, without the least shelter; and as the holding-ground is good, it is not an uncommon event for vessels to part their cables and be driven to sea. The inner harbour is only accessible to ships drawing less than eighteen feet water; and as the entrance is over a bar across a channel of less than half a mile wide, such vessels can only go in with a favourable wind, and at the top of high water in spring tides. The depth within increases to three and a quarter and three and a half fathoms, and the holding-ground is good: but here, though the sea is broken off by the projection of the Rohilla Sands, a ship is exposed to all the force of a north-west wind, and the distance is still three or four miles from the shore, which renders communication by boats difficult, and often impossible, when it blows strong. It appears by some of the older descriptions of Bushire, that the Company's cruisers, and other small

vessels, were formerly able to anchor close up to the north-east side of the town, within the inner harbour; but the channel leading up to this will now scarcely admit of small dows, except they are lightened. There are anchorage-births for native boats behind some small islands, to the north-east extremity of the inner harbour, or in the deepest part of the bight which it forms. This was at present occupied by the fleet of a certain Arab, named Rahmah-ben-Jaber, who has been for more than twenty years the terror of the Gulf, and who is the most successful and the most generally tolerated pirate, perhaps, that ever infested any sea. This man is by birth a native of Graine, on the opposite coast, and nephew of the present governor, or Sheikh, of that place. His fellow-citizens have all the honesty, however, to declare him an outlaw, from abhorrence of his profession; and he has found that shelter and protection at Bushire, which his own townsmen very properly denied to him. With five or six vessels, most of which are very large, and manned by crews of from two to three hundred each, he sallies forth, and captures whatever he may think himself strong enough to carry off as his prize;—the vessels of Graine, of Bussorah, of Bahrein, of Muscat, and even of Bushire, where he resides, falling equally a prey to him. His followers, to the number perhaps of two thousand, are maintained by the plunder of his prizes; and as these are most of them his own bought African slaves, and the remainder equally subject to his authority, he is sometimes as prodigal of their lives in a fit of anger, as he is of those of his enemies, whom he is not content to slay in battle only, but basely murders in cold blood, after they have submitted. An instance is related of his having recently put a great number of his own crew, who used mutinous expressions, into a tank on board, in which they usually kept their water, and this being shut close at the top, the poor wretches were all suffocated, and afterwards thrown overboard. This butcher chief, like the celebrated Djezzar of Acre, affects great simplicity of dress, manners, and living; and whenever he goes out, he is not to be distinguished

by a stranger from the crowd of his attendants. He carries this simplicity to a degree of filthiness which is disgusting, as his usual dress is a shirt, which is never taken off to be washed from the time it is first put on till it is worn out, no drawers or coverings for the legs of any kind, and a large black goat's-hair cloak, wrapped over all, with a greasy and dirty handkerchief, called the keffeea, thrown loosely over his head.

Infamous as was this man's life and character, he was not only cherished and courted by the people of Bushire, who dread him, but was courteously received and respectfully entertained whenever he visited the British factory! On one occasion, at which I was present, he was sent for to give some medical gentlemen of the navy and the Company's cruisers an opportunity of inspecting his arm, which had been severely wounded. The wound was at first made by grape-shot and splinters, and the arm was one mass of blood about the part for several days, while the man himself was with difficulty known to be alive. He gradually recovered, however, without surgical aid, and the bone of the arm between the elbow and the shoulder being completely shivered to pieces, the fragments progressively worked out, and the singular appearance was left of the fore arm and elbow connected to the shoulder by flesh, skin, and tendons, without the least vestige of bone. This man, when invited to the factory for the purpose of making this exhibition of his arm, was himself admitted to sit at the table and take some tea, as it was breakfast-time, and some of his followers took chairs around him. They were all as disgustingly filthy in appearance as could well be imagined; and some of them did not scruple to hunt for vermin on their skin, of which there was an abundance, and throw them beside them on the floor. Rahmah-ben-Jaber's figure presented a meagre trunk, with four lank members, all of them cut and hacked, and pierced with wounds of sabres, spears, and bullets, in every part, to the number perhaps of more than twenty different wounds. He had, besides, a face naturally ferocious and ugly, and now rendered still more so by several

scars there, and by the loss of one eye. When asked by one of the English gentlemen present, with a tone of encouragement and familiarity, whether he could not still dispatch an enemy with his boneless arm, he drew a crooked dagger, or yambeah, from the girdle round his shirt, and placing his left hand, which was sound, to support the elbow of the right, which was the one that was wounded, he grasped the dagger firmly with his clenched fist, and drew it backward and forward, twirling it at the same time, and saying, that he desired nothing better than to have the cutting of as many throats as he could effectually open with this lame hand! Instead of being shocked at the utterance of such a brutal wish, and such a savage triumph at still possessing the power to murder unoffending victims, I know not how to describe my feeling of shame and sorrow, when a loud burst of laughter, instead of execration, escaped from nearly the whole assembly, when I ventured to express my dissent from the general feeling of admiration for such a man.



CHAPTER XXII.

BUSSORAH—THE CHIEF PORT OF THE PERSIAN GULF.—ITS POPULATION, COMMERCE, AND RESOURCES.

Being desirous of rendering this volume as complete as possible, from materials collected by my own personal observation, I am induced to follow up this account of Bushire, by a still more enlarged and comprehensive description of Bussorah, the chief port in the Persian Gulf, drawn up, as stated below, after a considerable stay at the place itself, and that too, within a very few months after the termination of the journey and voyage described in this work. Shortly after my arrival at Bombay, I was appointed to the command of a large Indian ship, the Humayoon Shah; in which I returned to the Persian Gulf, and made a long stay at each of the great marts of trade included within its boundaries.

The opportunities which this afforded of acquiring much new information, as well as of correcting such as had been previously obtained, were not neglected: and I think I may safely say, that no existing account of the Gulf of Persia generally, and of its chief ports more especially, will be found to contain more copious or more accurate information than that which it is my good fortune to be able to lay before the reader of these pages. The hydrographical observations made in the second voyage, though important to the correct navigation of the Gulf, have been embodied in another work,* as being less interesting to the general reader, and such parts of the journal only retained in this, as possess the great literary interest of elucidating the early voyage of Nearchus, in the time of Alexander the Great, when this sea was for the first time visited by the navigators of antiquity. With this explanation, I proceed to the account of Bussorah, with its introductory paragraph, as explanatory of the circumstances under which it was composed.

After a residence at Bussorah of more than three months, during which time I made repeated excursions through the town, and had very frequent intercourse with all classes of the native inhabitants of the place, the following particulars were collected, and with the impressions to which these gave rise, were faithfully committed to writing on the spot.

The town of Bussorah† is seated near the western bank of the combined streams of the Euphrates and Tigris, about fifty miles below the point of their union at Kourna,‡ and seventy above the point of their discharge into the sea. These two rivers preserve their respective names of the Fraat and the Dijela, from their sources to their point of union; and the stream there formed, is called the Shat-el-Arab, or river of the Arabs, from this point to

* See Voyage from Muscat to Bushire, and from Bushire to Bussorah, in the Persian Gulf, published in 'The Oriental Herald' for October and November 1828.

† بصرة Bussra is the true orthography.

‡ Kourna, at the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates, is one of the three Apameas built by Seleucus, in honour of his first wife, Apamea.

the sea! The position of the British factory, which is nearly in the centre of the town, has been fixed by astronomical observations, to be in latitude 30°.29′.30″ north, and in longitude 47°.34′.15″. east.

The form of the town, as enclosed by its walls, is an irregular oblong square, its greatest length being in a direction of east-north-east and west-south-west, and its greatest breadth being from west-north-west to east-south-east, lying thus nearly at right angles with the stream of the Shat-el-Arab, which runs by the town from north-north-west to south-south-east. The portion of the wall which faces to the east-north-east, passes along the western bank of the river, within a few hundred yards of its edge, and may extend about a mile in length from south-south-east to north-north-west. The portion of the wall facing the south-south-east, goes nearly in a straight line from the river into the Desert, or from east-north-east to west-south-west for nearly three miles. The wall facing the north-north-west, and that facing the west-south-west, are almost confounded in one, by the irregularities in the line of the first, and by the last being joined to it by a rounding or circuit on the north-west, which leaves the angle of their union ill-defined. The compass of the whole, however, may be estimated at from eight to nine miles.

The walls themselves are built of sun-dried bricks, and are of considerable thickness at the foundations, with loop-holes for musketry in a parapet wall at the top, continued all round, and occasional ports for cannon; but of these there are very few mounted. Some portions of the wall are bastioned by circular towers, and most of it is crowned with battlements; but the work, though forming an effectual defence against the Arabs of the Desert, is, to the eye of an European, destitute of the symmetry and strength required in a fortified barrier; and the wretched state of the whole at present, from the neglect of timely repair, makes it look rather like the ruined walls of some deserted city, than the enclosure of one still inhabited.

The walls of Bussorah have five gates, three of which face the south-south-east, and, beginning from that nearest to the river, are called Bab-el-Meejmooah, Bab-el-Seradjey, and Bab-el-Zobeir; the other two face the north-north-west, and are called Bab-el-Robat, which is near the Mekam, and Bab-el-Bagdad, which leads directly into the central and most peopled part of the city. These gates mostly take their names from that of places to and from which they lead, and are all of them of mean appearance in their original structure, and in a state of great ruin from neglect of repairs.*

For the irrigation of the grounds, for the supply of the city with water, and for the facility of transporting goods, there are three large canals that lead from the river by and through the town. The northern and southernmost ones enter just at these respective angles of the city walls, and go along in the direction of them, on the outside, and within a few yards of their foundations, extending all the way to the opposite angles of the town, and there uniting without or beyond the western wall, so as to form a complete ditch to the fortifications. From these canals, smaller channels carry off the water in different directions, to irrigate the soil through which they pass.

The central canal enters from the river about midway between these two, but rather nearer to the northernmost one. This goes up westerly, through the whole length of the town, and serves at once to supply the inhabitants with water for domestic purposes, to irrigate the whole of the fields and gardens within the walls, by channels leading off from it in various directions, and to admit of the transportation of goods in the large boats which pass from the river to the centre of the town, laden with all the various commodities that enter into the consumption of the people, or into the foreign trade of the merchants here. All these canals are filled by the flood, and left dry by the ebb tide twice in every

* There is a neat one now building, facing the south-west, between the Bagdad and Zobeir gates, and to be called Bab Bakna, from the name of the present Mutesellim.

twenty-four hours; the only exceptions being when strong north-west winds prevail about the neaps, so as to check the flow of the water, and make a continued ebb in the river for two tides following. As, however, even on ordinary occasions, there is seldom more than one flood that can fall at a convenient hour of the day, from the ebb lasting mostly eight hours, and the flood only four, there is often a considerable bustle and noise on the canal among the boats passing up and down, so much so as to give an impression to a stranger of a much more active commerce than really exists. The canal itself is much too narrow for the convenient passage of the vessels employed on it; and as none but the very smallest of these can move, except at the top of high water, they are often all in motion at once. Boats grounding in their passage lie until the next flood floats them, and laden vessels losing the springs, sometimes lie in the very centre of the channel until the ensuing spring, blocking up the passage entirely for smaller vessels, which might otherwise have water enough, but for which room is not left to pass.

For the conveyance of passengers on this canal, small canoes, called here bellem, are employed; and these having a clean mat in the bottom for the seat, and a light awning over head to shade it, are pushed along by the two boatmen who stand in the head and stern, and with long poles fitted for the purpose, give the canoe sufficient velocity to keep up with a well-manned four-oared boat. These are the smallest vessels seen, and these, from having only a draught of a few inches, can be used at any time of the tide, except at dead low water. From these, there are boats of all sizes, up to vessels of fifty tons, which are the largest that I remember to have seen on the canal. The canoes are often very long and narrow, and from the peculiar finish of their prows have a light and elegant form. The most usual way of impelling them along the stream is by the use of the bamboo poles; but they are sometimes rowed by short paddles, which are used by the rowers alternately from side to side, and then present the appearance so

graphically described in Arrian's report of the Voyage of Nearchus, when the fishermen whom they saw at Kophos, in boats similar to these described, were said to have their oars not fastened to their rowlocks, as in Greek vessels, but to hold them in the hand, so that they seemed to *dig* the water, rather than to row, and to toss it up as a labourer throws up earth with his spade.*

There are also circular boats made of basket-work, and covered with bitumen, which are from six to eight feet in diameter, of shallow draught, and capable of carrying six or eight persons. These are used both on the canal and on the river, and are paddled or spun along, for they make chiefly a circular motion, with sufficient ease. They are called here kufa, and seem to be of the same kind as those circular boats made of reeds, and in the form of a shield, which are noticed by Herodotus as in use on the river of Babylon upwards of 2000 years ago.†

There is still another species of boat used principally for heavy burthens; this is called a donak, but, from the singularity of its form, it is not easy to be described. It rises at each end with so much sheer as to be nearly like a crescent, but falls out above, where the sheer is deepest, or near the centre of the boat's length, as if the timbers had been all twisted from their original place. The bottom is quite flat, and the stem and stern rise to a considerable height from the water, falling at the same time inward, like the horns of the moon; and the whole is covered with a thick coat of bitumen.

The rest of the vessels employed on the canal are of the common form used throughout the Persian and Arabian Gulfs; and, notwithstanding their inelegant forms above water, have often beautiful bottoms, and are strongly built.

The whole of these canals, with all their dependent channels, are merely dug out of the soil, without being lined with artificial embankments or masonry in any part throughout their entire

* Voyage of Nearchus, (§. 28.) Dr. Vincent's translation, vol. i. pp. 41, 42. 4to.

† Herodotus, Clio, cxciv.

length; and the few brick-built bridges that are thrown across them in different parts of the town, are of the meanest kind.

On coming from the river, and going up to Bussorah by the central canal, the entrance is made through a narrow mouth, with a circular fort on the left, and a mosque with a small minaret on the right. Several houses follow on each side, those on the left being chiefly timber-yards, and storehouses of articles most in demand for the use of boats and shipping; and that on the right, called El Mekam, having a coasting custom-house, with a coffee-house, mosque, and the dwellings of those whose occupations have drawn them to reside around this spot.

The portion of buildings on the right of the canal at its entrance is called 'El Mekam,' literally the place of residence for the governor's lieutenant,* and was formerly the station of such an officer from the Pasha of Bussorah, who had his own palace further up in the city. The portion of buildings on the left side of the canal, and opposite to El Mekam at the entrance, is called 'Minawi.'

In the time of Hossein Pasha, the son of Ali Pasha, both of them mentioned in the Travels of Pietro della Valle and Tavernier, the city of Bussorah was distant nearly two miles from the banks of the river, and Minawi was then a distinct village, serving as the port or landing-place. It was this Hossein who extended the walls of the former town down to the river, and enclosed the village of Minawi within it, by which means all the intermediate fields and gardens which had never before, nor have even since been built upon, became incorporated with the rest. The newly enclosed village was then fortified by a strong wall continued all around it, and formed nearly an eighth of the whole

* مقام 1st. A place of residence, a dwelling, a mansion. 2d. State, dignity, condition. Thus, قايم مقام from قايم standing in, fixed in, &c. and مقام a place, forms the Arabic, Turkish, and Persian title of Kaim. Mekam, meaning a lieutenant, vicegerent; and as such is applied to the deputy governor of Constantinople, or to any other *locum tenens*.—*Richardson's Arabic Dictionary*, p. 1809.

space enclosed within the walls of Bussorah, even when thus extended.

Dr. Vincent, in endeavouring to prove the etymology of Talmena, one of the stations of Nearchus, as given by Arrian, to be from a ruined fort, takes the *Tal* from the Hebrew for a ruined heap, and Mina from the Arabic for a fort, which he supports by saying that Mina, Minau, at the Anamis, and Minavi at Basra, are all expressive of a fort.* But this is not true, as Mina in Arabic signifies a port, or anchoring-place for ships,† as well as a landing-place for boats, and answers exactly to the Italian term Scala, which is used throughout the Mediterranean for similar places. On the coast of Syria, the town of Tripoli is about a mile or two from the sea, and the landing and anchoring place before it is called El Mina. This is the case also at Latikea, just above it; and even in Egypt, where towns are at a little distance from the river, as Cairo, Manfalout, and Assiout, the places at which the boats land are called El Mina, or the port of the town, to which it serves as such. In no one instance do I remember the application of this, or even a term like it in sound, to a fort, in any of the numerous dialects of Arabia which I have heard spoken.

After passing the Mekam on the right, and Minawi on the left, the rest of the way up to the city by the canal is bordered by a public road on the southern side, and date-trees and gardens on the northern, for about half a mile or more; and though the canal, from being narrow and low, is exceedingly hot in the day-time, the sun beating on it with full power, and the high banks keeping off all wind, yet, at the cool time of morning or evening, when the water is high flood, the passage up and down is agreeable.

At the distance of about a mile from the entrance of the canal, the houses of Bussorah are first met with, and these are most thickly placed on the southern side. Somewhat less than

* Commerce of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean, vol. i. p. 263. 4to.

† مينا a port, haven, harbour, an anchoring-ground for ships.—*Richardson*, p. 1922.

a mile further up is the British Factory, which, presenting a circular brick wall toward the river with arched windows or ports, and having a large gate towards the creek, with sentries, flag-staff, &c. has all the appearance of a fortress, and is indeed by far the best building to be seen in the whole city.

Within the next quarter of a mile above this is the Seraia, or palace of the Mutesellim, and the Custom-house, both of them buildings of the meanest kind, and in the worst state of repair; and just above this last, the bridge that crosses the canal in a line from the Bagdad gate, renders it unnavigable further up, though the stream itself continues till it reaches the other extremity of the town.

The rise of water in this canal is about eight feet perpendicular with the flood of spring tides, and six feet with the flood of the neaps, and at low water it is nearly dry. The time of high water at the full and change is five P. M., or about an hour earlier than it is in the middle of the river opposite to the point of this canal's discharge.

The space actually occupied by buildings does not comprise more than one-fourth of that which is enclosed within the walls of Bussorah, the rest being laid out in corn-fields, rice-grounds, date-groves, and gardens; in this respect it has been very aptly compared to ancient Babylon, a great portion of which seems, by the account of all the historians who have described it, to have been laid out in the same way. The buildings themselves are badly planned and constructed, and are mostly as deficient even in what are held by their occupiers to be conveniences and comforts, as they are to the eyes of a stranger destitute of beauty.

From the want of stones, which are here scarcely to be found or met with in a journey of many miles, the walls of the city, as well as by far the greater number of dwellings within it, are built of sun-dried bricks. The few houses that have kiln-dried bricks in their walls, are too inconsiderable in number to form an exception, and are confined to the British factory, the

Seraia of the Mutesellim, one or two of the principal mosques, and perhaps half a dozen mansions of rich men in different parts of the town. The scarcity and consequent high price of wood, occasions the trunk of the date-tree to be almost the only sort employed in building; and this, from its fibrous nature, cannot be wrought into a regular shape by all the art of carpentry. Stone and wood are therefore rarely seen, and the buildings, from the necessary confinement to such materials as are used in them, are all of the meanest appearance.

In assigning an etymology to Bussorah, Dr. Vincent says, 'Basra, Bozra, and Bosara, is a name applicable to any town in the Desert, as it signifies rough or stony ground; and thus we have a Bosara in Ptolemy near Muskat, and a Bozra, familiar in Scripture, denoting an Arabian town in the neighbourhood of Judea, taken by the Maccabees.'* The Hebrew signification, as applied to the Bozra of the Scriptures, is consistent and appropriate, since that town is really seated on rough and stony ground, and so probably was the Bosara of Ptolemy near Muskat, judging from the general character of the country there. The Arabic Bussra, (for that is the nearest pronunciation of the name بصرة) though allied perhaps to the Hebrew Bozra or Botzra, has yet some distinguishing features of difference. بصرة is interpreted, 1st. *Whitish* stones. 2d. A kind of earth, out of which they dig such stones. 3d. The city of Basra or Bassora, as seated on such ground. The *whitish* stones cannot be the meaning of the name either of Bozra in Syria, or of Bussorah on the Euphrates, as the former is on a bed of black basaltic rock; and in the latter there are no stones of any description at all. Although this name is applied equally to the earth, out of which such stones are dug, I could not learn, during my stay here, that the earth of Bussorah at

* Golius ad Alfrag. p. 120. *Terra crassa et lapidosa.* But see בוצרת under בצר. Botsrath *desertum* à Batzar *clausit*, quia clauduntur aquæ. From hence, adds the Dean, *Bazar* for an emporium, and urbs munita, quia *circumclauditur*, to which the Bursa of Carthage is allied.—*Vincent's Commerce of the Ancients, &c.* vol. i. p. 436, note.

all produced any such stones; and the only difference between the soil of the present town, and that of the old city, which is supposed to have been near Zobeir, is that the one is more sandy than the other; but both are equally destitute of stones. There is another meaning given to بصر as signifying 'the side, border, or margin,' a sense that would apply to the Hebrew Bozra, as it was the easternmost town of note in all the Hauran, and 'bordered' upon the country of the Nabateans, but still more suitably to Bussorah, which was upon the 'side and margin' of Arabia itself, and near the banks of the Euphrates, which in all ages has been considered as its eastern boundary by land. The Hebrew and the Arabic names, though differently spelt by us, who know and preserve the distinction between them, are written and pronounced exactly alike by the respective inhabitants of each, who, it is true, are all Arabs. The word Bazar بازار is of a different origin in its root, and of different orthography, and means equally a place where goods are publicly sold, or the act of bargaining for purchase and sale in private, and does not seem allied to either of the others.

The population of Bussorah has varied at different periods of its history from 500,000 to about 50,000 inhabitants. The former is supposed to have been the *maximum* of its most flourishing state; the latter the *minimum*, after the dreadful ravages of the plague in 1773—when upwards of 300,000 souls are said to have fallen victims to this destructive scourge. It is true that at the time of Mr. Niebuhr's passage through this place, which was in 1764, he supposed the population scarcely to have exceeded 40,000; and by a calculation of one hundred houses to each of the seventy mehalles or parishes of the city, and seven dwellers to each house, which he thought was the utmost that could be allowed, the number made only 49,000. But in an interval of nine years, which passed until the plague of 1773, great changes might have been effected in the state of the surrounding country, and a surplus population of a still greater number have been drawn to the city, by causes which offered brighter prospects to

the inhabitants of it. Such sudden changes are not uncommon in the great cities of the Eastern world, and more particularly in those which, like Bussorah, are frequently exposed to become subject to different masters, and be contended for as a frontier post between two warring powers, and whose prosperity, even in times of political tranquillity, depends on so precarious a foundation as foreign trade.

At the present moment, while it enjoys sufficient security from all dangers without, and is subject to its old masters the Turks, who preserve good order within, the population is on the increase, and may amount altogether to nearly 100,000 souls. About one-half of these are Arabs, one-fourth Persians, and the remaining fourth a mixture of Turks, Armenians, Indians, Jews, and Catholic Christians, with a few Koords from the mountains of Koordistan, and a small portion of the Arab Christians, called Subbees, or disciples and followers of John the Baptist.

The Arabs are mostly persons born in the town, or in its immediate neighbourhood, with occasional settlers from Bagdad, Kourna, and the villages along the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, as well as some few Desert Arabs from the country of Nedjed, and trading people from Coete, or Graine, the great sea-port of that part of Arabia. The occupations of the Arab population are chiefly commercial among the higher order, and labour and cultivation among the lower. The religion of both is of the Soonnee sect of Mohammedism, and they are in general sufficiently tolerant to those of a different faith. The dress of the merchants, who are originally of Bussorah, as well as those who come from Moosul and Bagdad, differs but little from that of the same class of people in Syria, except that it is here gayer and more costly in the same rank of life. Indian muslins and Angora shalloons are worn in the summer; but fine broad cloths, of the brightest colours, Indian stuffs, and Cashmeer shawls, form the winter apparel; and these are displayed in such variety, as to make the wardrobe of a well-dressed man exceedingly expensive.

The Arabs from Nedjed, and those from Coete or Graine, wear invariably the Bedouin handkerchief, called Maharama and Keffeea; the poorer people bind them round their heads, with bands of camel's hair thread, made into a sort of rope; but the wealthier class, although they are clad in the most costly robes, still retain this mark of their Desert origin, and sometimes even wear a rich Indian shawl as a turban over it, while the long ends of the coarse Bedouin keffeea hangs over their shoulders, forming a singular mixture of the costumes of the Desert and the town. The light Bagdad cloak, in alternate stripes of reddish brown and white, are worn by all in the summer; and thicker abbas, of a similar form and pattern, by the poor in the winter; but the rich at this season wear fine thick cloaks of a black colour, with a broad and deep three-forked stripe of gold, woven into the cloth, and descending from the top of the right shoulder down the back.

The Persian part of the population of Bussorah are all of the Sheeah sect of Moslems; but as their party is the weakest, they conceal the hatred with which this religious distinction inspires them towards the Turks and Arabs as Soonnees; and even their peculiar fasts and festivals are, for the same reason, observed with some degree of privacy. The rich among them are mostly merchants, who have commercial relations with their countrymen settled at the chief ports in India, and with others in Shooster and the higher parts of Persia, but seldom further north than Bagdad, as the Aleppo and Damascus trades are in the hands of Arabs. The lower classes of the Persian population are occupied mostly as writers, servants, shopkeepers, and mechanics; in all which professions or stations, their superior activity, industry, insinuating manners, ingenuity, and address, are conspicuous; and while among the Arabs a man is either a merchant in easy circumstances, or a mere labourer, Persians are found filling most of the intermediate stations, and rising by their own exertions from the lowest to the highest ranks. The dress of the Persians differs but little from that which is common to all the parts of Persia which I

have seen, excepting only that the black sheep's-skin cap is exchanged for the shawl or muslin turban, and the scarlet embroidered coat for the Arab cloak. These, however, are sufficient to alter the appearance of the dress so much, that a stranger would not easily distinguish a Persian from an Arab inhabitant of Bussorah. Some, indeed, both among the rich and the poor, adopt the Arab costume entirely; and then it is only by the characteristic features of their race, and by their peculiar manner of pronouncing the Arabic language, that they can be known.

The Turks are very few in number, and are almost all in offices of trust under the Government, or otherwise personally attached to the Governor himself. This man, who is called here the Mutesellim, or literally the Lieutenant of the Pasha of the province, is himself a native of Bussorah, but of Turkish descent; and having been many years at Constantinople, and served several campaigns against the Russians, he is much more a Turk than an Arab. The officers attached to him are principally Turks by family, but born in towns remote from the metropolis, as Moosul, Bagdad, and Bussorah. All these, however, preserve the Turkish kaook of Constantinople as a distinguishing mark of dress; their other garments differing in nothing from those of the well-dressed merchants of the place. Few as are these Turks in number, and never at any time perhaps exceeding five hundred, they maintain firm possession of the city, with the aid of a small number of Georgians, Koords, Arabs, and Persians, who are paid by the Government as soldiers, but who furnish their own arms and clothing, and are the most undisciplined rabble that can be imagined. The horse are estimated at 1500, but that number is seldom complete, and the foot are composed of five companies or Beiraks, of nominally one hundred muskets each. There are about fifty of the best of these who are selected as a body guard for the Mutesellim, and who accompany him to the mosques on Fridays, and attend him on state occasions. These are foot soldiers and musketeers, and they are distinguished by a uniform

dress of red jackets, seamed with black cord, the full blue Turkish trowsers, white turbans, and English muskets, with black cartouch-box and belts. This is the only instance of uniform that I remember among the soldiers of either the Arabs, the Turks, or the Persians, and has, I think, been occasioned by the constant station of the British Resident's guard here, and the frequent arrival of East India Company's cruisers and merchant vessels, with disciplined sepoys on board. The Tefenkchee-Bashee, or chief of these musketeers, wears the large fur cap of the Bagdad soldiers; but all his inferiors, with the exception of the body guard already mentioned, dress in their own way, and just as their means allow, except that each Beirak or company has some trifling mark by which it is distinguished from others.

In personal appearance, the Turks of Bussorah are far below those of Asia Minor and the large towns of Syria, and still more inferior to those of Smyrna and Constantinople, both in strength of frame, fairness of complexion, and general beauty of person. The degeneration has been effected probably by several united causes; such as a mixture with Arab blood, the use of negro slaves, and long residence in a hot and unhealthy climate. In character they have a good deal of the gravity, resignation, and attachment to old customs, which distinguish the Turks of the north; but they do not appear to inherit their love of ostentatious display, their haughty carriage towards those of a different faith, their polite and courtly manners towards their friends, nor their proud and unbending courage against their enemies. They possess a power equally despotic with that of other Turks ruling over Arab towns; but they use it, certainly, with almost unexampled moderation: the consequence of this is, that their government is popular with all classes, and there is scarcely an Arab inhabitant of the city, who would not prefer the reign of the Osmanli or Turkish authority to that of any Arab Sheikh, and who would not take up arms to defend it.

The Armenians of Bussorah do not at present exceed fifty

families, though formerly they were much more numerous. They are here, as throughout all the rest of the Turkish Empire, a sober, industrious, and intelligent race of people, engaged in occupations of trust as brokers, and doing business also for themselves as merchants. Their dress differs in nothing from that of the rich natives of the place, except that they confine themselves to dark-coloured cloths for their garments, and wear blue, black, and brown Cashmeer shawls for turbans, never assuming the gay tints reserved for the adorning of the faithful; though at this place there seems more laxity in the execution of the law enforcing distinctions of dress and colours to be worn by people of different faiths, than in most other Turkish towns that I have seen. The Armenians communicate with each other in their own language; but in general they speak Turkish, Persian, and Arabic, equally well; and some few add to these, English, Portuguese, and Hindostanee, which gives them great advantages in their mercantile transactions. They have a small church, and two or three priests attached to it, and their community is respectable and happy. An instance was related to me of their strict attention to the reputation of their body, which deserves to be recorded:—A young widow, who had been left without a protector, and was sufficiently handsome to have snares laid for her virtue, yielded to temptation, and lived for a short time as the mistress of a rich person, but without further prostitution. The circumstance becoming known, it was decided by the Armenians that their nation was scandalized by such an occurrence; and their influence was sufficient to get this fair sinner banished from the town, and sent to Bagdad, where they furnished her with a maintenance from their body, to prevent a recurrence of the necessity which she pleaded as an excuse for her past transgressions.

The Jews of Bussorah are also less numerous than they formerly were, though at present they are thought to amount to more than one hundred families. The heads of these are all merchants and traders; and as they add to the sobriety, industry, and

perseverance of the Armenians, a meanness, a cunning, and a disregard of principle, which are peculiar to them, they insinuate themselves into all affairs of business that are transacted even between strangers, and are not only in general the greatest gainers in every affair, but often derive a profit as brokers and agents, when the principals for whom they treat may lose. They form here as separate a body as in all other parts of the globe, living only among themselves, and preserving, by intermarriages among their own immediate offspring, that peculiarity of feature as well as of character, which distinguishes them from the one end of the world to the other. Their dress differs very little from that of the wealthy natives of the place, except in their confining themselves, like the Armenians, to dark-coloured garments. Their turban is, however, peculiar; and instead of the overhanging tarboosh and full shawl of the Armenians, it is formed of a flower-striped silk and cotton cloth, bound tightly round a red cap in flat folds, with sometimes a border of fringe at the edge. The rich, of whom there are many, are always well-dressed; the poor go from mediocrity down to filth and rags; and all classes wear their beards and the hanging side-locks which distinguish their sect from all others. Their common language is Arabic; though among themselves, and in correspondence with other Jews, they write this in the Hebrew character; but of Turkish, Persian, or any other tongue, there are few who know enough to transact the most common business, which forms a great feature of difference between them and the Armenians.

* The Catholic Christians are much fewer in number than either of the last mentioned, and do not at present exceed twenty families. Some of these are natives of Bussorah, and others are recent settlers from Bagdad and Aleppo. They are all merchants and traders, and are distinguished from the mass only by their wearing dark turbans; since in manners and language they resemble the other inhabitants of the place. These have a church attached to the hospital of the Carmelite Friars, which has long

existed here. There were formerly several friars of that order attached to the Convent as missionaries; and until within these few years, always two of them. At present, however, there is but one, who is an old Neapolitan of about sixty, and has been here altogether nearly thirty years, having visited Europe once only in that interval. He is one of the most uninformed members of his order that I remember to have met with, and after so long a residence in the country can scarcely speak the language of it intelligibly. His solitude was so insupportable when he lost his last companion, that he became a most abandoned drunkard in endeavouring to cheer it by the bottle. So scandalous was his behaviour during the period of constant inebriation, that his flock bound him by the most solemn oaths made at the altar, never to taste the alluring poison again. To this he rigidly conforms; but it costs him, according to his own confession, the sacrifice of the only consolation which he enjoyed on this side the grave!

The Subbees are a sect of Christians, who call themselves disciples and followers of John the Baptist, and their community consists of about thirty families. They dress so exactly like the Arabs of the place, that there is no means of discovering them by their exterior, and their language and general manners are also the same with those of the Mohammedan inhabitants of the town. The chief seat of these Subbees is Kourna, at the conflux of the Tigris and Euphrates; and at that place their Bishop, and upwards of a hundred families reside. There are also some few at Shookashoaah, a large Arab town higher up, and they are scattered over the plain country of Khusistan, at Shooster, Dezhpool, and other places there; but their limits are very narrow, and their whole body collectively is thought to be less than a thousand families. They possess a Gospel of their own, which is written in a dialect of the Chaldaic, but with characters peculiar to themselves, of which Mr. Niebuhr has given an alphabet, though he seems to have collected no other information regarding them.

This gospel enters at large into the genealogy, birth, and education, of John the Baptist, with his separate history until the time of his baptizing Jesus, when the histories and acts of both are treated of in continuation; but in what particulars their version accords with, or differs from any of those received among us, I could not learn; as, in the first place, the book itself is not easily to be procured from their priests, and in the next it would require either a knowledge of their language, or a translation of it by them into Arabic, to understand it, neither of which was it in my power to obtain. This gospel is attributed by them to John the Baptist himself, and it is their sole authority in all matters of faith and doctrine. They have besides, however, a book of prayers and precepts, with directions for ceremonials, which they ascribe to the learned men of their sect, who immediately succeeded their great leader. They admit the divinity of Jesus, as Christ, the Son of God, and conceive that John the Baptist is to be honoured as his fore-runner, and as the person selected by God to perform the most holy sacrament of baptism on his child; but what are their notions regarding the Trinity I could not learn. They are distinguished from all other Christians by their frequent repetition of this sacrament on the same person, who, in other churches, would receive it but once. It is said, even, that every individual of their body is baptized annually on some particular occasion; but whether this is a fixed day for all, or peculiar festivals chosen by the individuals themselves, does not appear. This, however, is certain, that on all important changes, or undertakings, or events of their life, baptism is re-administered. The child at its birth is baptized; when named it is baptized again; on completing the age of puberty it is also baptized; and whether contracting marriage, becoming the parent of children, undertaking a journey, recovering from sickness, or any other important event, as well as after death, and before interment, baptism is re-administered with all the solemnity of the first occasion. The prayers used at their marriages and funerals are said to be long: the

first is a ceremony performed among themselves in some degree of privacy; but the latter is conducted openly, without their being interrupted in it by any one. They have no standing church, since their places of worship must be newly erected for every new occasion. It is therefore usual with them, when these occasions occur, to make an enclosure of reeds, when, after a most tedious process of purification, the ground becomes consecrated, and they perform their worship therein, secluded from the eyes of strangers, after which the building is pulled down and destroyed. Their attention to the purity of their food is carried to an extraordinary degree, and equals that of the highest caste of Bramins in India. No water that is not drawn from the river by themselves in their own vessels, and even after that suffered to subside, and be otherwise purified by their own hands, can be drunk by them. If honey, or similar articles, are purchased by them in the bazaar, it must have purified water poured on it, and remain a certain time covered to be cleansed before it can be eaten; and even fruit, though fresh from the tree, must be similarly washed, to be purged of its defilement. It is, however, singular enough, that while they carry this attention to religious purity of food to a degree unknown to all other sects of Christians, abstinence and fasts should be held in abomination by them; and that, contrary to the general Christian notion of this being always acceptable to God, and tending to purge the soul, as well as the body, of impure passions and desires, the Subbees regard it as a heinous sin, and as a profanation of the gifts which the Creator has so bountifully provided for his creatures. In their moral character, they are neither esteemed more upright nor more corrupt than their neighbours. One of their most distinguished virtues is mutual confidence in each other; and a breach of trust in any way is said to be regarded by them as a more damning offence than murder, fornication, and adultery, combined. It is, no doubt, this peculiar tenet, added to their notions of defilement from strangers, and the constant intermarriage of

their sons and daughters with each other, which keeps them together, like the Jews, and all other unsocial castes of religion, who seek not to augment their numbers by converts, yet, by the selfishness of their institutions, preserve them from being lessened by mingling with others.—The heads of the few families of Subbees here are mostly mechanics and handicrafts, more particularly as smiths and workers in metals; and even in the towns enumerated, where their community is more extensive, they generally confine themselves to the exercise of these and similar trades, without attaching themselves to agriculture or the profession of arms; in which particular they resemble the Jews of Europe, where the profession of the stock-broker, or loan-raiser, the art of the goldsmith or jeweller, and the occupation of a pedlar, are those mostly followed, rather than the Jews of Asia, who confine themselves to dealing in general merchandize, and are seldom seen as mechanics or handicrafts in any way.

The Indians resident in Bussorah are chiefly Banians, and are all employed as merchants on their own account, and as brokers and agents for others. They enjoy, as well as the Armenians, the countenance and protection of the British Resident; the heads of both, indeed, are actually attached to the service of the East India Company at their factory. Some of them have direct communication with merchants of their own caste at Bombay; but more of them trade through the medium of the Banians settled at Muscat, and few or none have any immediate transactions of trade directly with Bengal. To conform in some degree to the manners of the place, the turban peculiar to the Banians of India is laid aside, and generally a red one, half in the Arab and half in the Indian form, is substituted in its place. The rest of the dress is a mixture of the Persian and the Arab, without being exactly either; though no part of the Indian costume seems to be retained, and by most of them even the sectarial mark on the forehead is omitted to be worn. There is, besides all these approximations to foreign usages, a sufficient laxity to show that the scruples even of

Hindoos, are not unconquerable; and that, as among all other sects and people, these take a colouring from the usages around them: so that they unbend from their primitive rigour before the slow but certain influence of long continued example and intercourse with those of another faith. The Sepoys of the Factory guard are also mostly Hindoos; besides which, there are some mechanics attached to the establishment; and these, as they live more among themselves, preserve their Indian habits more unchanged. Some few have their women with them; but by far the greater number, both of the Banians and the soldiers, live without wives. Their collective number may amount to about two hundred; and, as they enjoy as free exercise of their religion as could be had without actually possessing a place of public worship, and are not in any way molested, either by the Government or by individuals, they live in ease and content.

The few Koords who are found in Bussorah are not sufficiently numerous to form a distinct body; but they are mostly engaged in inferior offices of trust under the Turks, and in the profession of arms, for which the habits and character of these mountaineers are admirably adapted.

Of the European factories here, the only ones remaining are the French and the English. The former of these has merely a nominal existence, since the Baron Vigoroux, who holds the appointment, resides at Bagdad; and, except the hoisting of the white flag, which is done by the Catholic Carmelite friar on Sundays, there is no other duty which a Resident would have to execute. Some hopes of a renewal of the French trade were excited here about a month since, by the arrival of two vessels from the Mauritius to Muscat, under that flag; but the end of their voyage was a disastrous one. They were represented to be a ship and a schooner; the former armed for self-defence, the latter sailing under her convoy, but having mostly treasure on board, intended for the purchase of cargoes for both. On passing Ras-el-Had, and conceiving all danger to be over, the ship sent on the schooner,

which was the fastest sailer, towards Muscat, when, it falling calm, they became separated widely apart. At this moment, some Joassamee pirate-boats pulled down on the schooner, and, finding no resistance, plundered her of every dollar, and stripped even the vessel and her crew of every thing that was portable. The commander, complaining of this treatment towards the subjects of a nation who were not at war with them, was told, that he might congratulate himself on being known to them as a Frenchman, since, if they had been even suspected to have been English, their throats would have been cut without distinction. It appears that there was a supercargo on board, who had been formerly in the service of the Imaum of Muscat, and who understood Arabic sufficiently well to communicate with the pirates, which was the means of their lives being spared. The Joassamees were not content, however, with plundering the vessel, but endeavoured to scuttle her; and men were employed both on the outside under water, and on the inside below, to effect this, which they were unable to do from the firm way in which the vessel was built, and their want of proper implements. The French ship, in the mean time, remained becalmed at a distance, unable to render any assistance to her consort, and both the vessels afterwards reached Muscat in safety; yet the object of the voyage was entirely frustrated, and the hopes of a revival of the French trade at Bussorah consequently declined.

The English factory dates its origin from the first visit of British vessels to Bussorah, which was in the year 1640; and it has continued to exist almost without interruption ever since. The building itself, or the residence of the chief of the factory, has been frequently changed: since it was, at one time, in the very centre of the town; at another, remote from the city altogether, on the banks of the river, at a place called Margill; and it is now seated on the southern side of the central creek, leading from the river up through the town, and at a convenient distance from the dwelling of the Governor, and from the public custom-house. The present factory, which is by far the best building in

all the town, was constructed chiefly by a former Resident, Mr. Manesty, on the foundation of an old building, bought chiefly for the situation it held, and improved and added to in such a way as to make it a convenient abode for the Resident and all his dependants, and accessible to the boats of all British vessels arriving in the river. The establishment maintained here by the East India Company is most respectable, and the expense of supporting it equal to about 5000*l.* sterling per year; to compensate which, the only advantages derived, are the safe and speedy transmission of dispatches in time of war, and protection and accommodation to private traders coming here from India; since the Company are thought to lose rather than gain by the articles which they send here for sale. These are but few in number, and in no large quantities, being mostly confined to metals and woollen cloths, which they are obliged to export from England, and which they send wherever they can get a market for them, even at a certain loss.

There was formerly a Resident at Bussorah who was a member of the Civil Service of India, with an army-surgeon attached to him; but the present Agent of the Company, who acted in the capacity of surgeon to Mr. Manesty, being himself a medical man, is constituted what is called a Resident in charge, and receives the emoluments of both. There are, besides, a proper number of brokers, interpreters, chaoushes, and inferior servants, and a Jemindar, or native officer's guard of Sepoys, from the Marine Battalion of Bombay, lodged in barracks attached to the house. The influence enjoyed by the Resident is considerable, as might be expected from the respectability of his establishment; the frequent arrival of the Company's armed-vessels; the extensive trade with India in British shipping; and the presence of a superior at the Court of the Pasha of Bagdad, to whom immediate application can be made for redress of grievances; and all these advantages are still further strengthened by the personal character of the present Resident, Dr. Colquhoun, who has sufficient urbanity to extend his

protection to both Jews and Christians, without fear or favour; and yet sufficient firmness to resist all encroachments on his privileges, and to enforce the rigid observance of all existing conditions between the Government and the nation, or the Company, whom he represents.

The situation of Bussorah is so highly favourable for trade, that, under every obstacle which a bad government, and unsafe passages to and from it by sea and land occasions, it continues to enjoy a commerce sufficient to enrich many by its profits, and to furnish the means of subsistence to a large population. The history of this trade is not easy to be gathered from even the oldest residents here, since few people care about preserving memorials of the past; and the governors, as well as their dependants in office, change so frequently, that no records of a very old date remain for the examination of their successors. A period is spoken of, about fifty years ago, when the trade of Bussorah was most flourishing, and the amount of the imports in India produce, and of the exports in treasure, is stated at a sum so enormous, as to prove its origin to have been in the warm imagination of some one fresh from the tales of Haroun el Raschid. From more authentic documents it appears, that in the year 1805, the trade of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Surat, with Bussorah, left a balance of about half a million sterling in favour of British India annually. This trade is rather increased than diminished, and the value of the articles entering into it makes it amount to more than the number of vessels employed would seem to warrant. During the last year, there have been, altogether, fifteen ships from Bengal and Bombay, averaging from three to four hundred tons each. These brought Bengal muslins and piece-goods, pepper, spices, drugs, rice, sugar, indigo, silk, and cotton-yarn, Surat manufactures, shawls, china-ware, china-paper, dyewoods, coffee, lac, beads, sugar-candy, and other articles, as the produce of India; with lead, iron, cutlery, quicksilver, tin, steel, cochineal, and other articles, as the European exports to that country. The returns were made chiefly

in Arabian horses; treasure in various coins from Europe; pearls from Bahrein; dates from Arabia; copper from Tocat; gall-nuts from Koordistan; lametto, or gold-fringe, and coral from the Mediterranean, by the caravans from Aleppo; gums from Arabia; rose-water from Bussorah; assafœtida, almonds, dried fruit, and sometimes horses from Bushire, as the port of Persia; and occasionally, some few articles, in addition, from Muscat. Gold and silver coin forms, however, by far the greatest amount in actual value, and pays the most profitable freight to ships; the rate being four per cent. *ad valorem* to Bengal, three per cent. to Bombay, two per cent. to Muscat, and one per cent. to Bushire; and instances have occurred of the whole amount of treasure sent in one ship yielding a freight of 5,000*l.* sterling, and, consequently, amounting to 150,000*l.* in capital.

Horses form the most important return next to the precious metals. These are brought into Bussorah from all the surrounding country; but those of Nedjed are generally preferred. There is a standing order of the Porte prohibiting the exportation of horses from any part of the Turkish dominions, on the old principle of confining what a nation is likely to want within itself. The consequence of such a regulation, while it was adhered to, was, that no one bred horses but for his own use, or just in proportion to the demand of the market, if for the use of others. For this reason, about twenty years ago, fifty Arab horses could not have been collected in a year, for any purpose, except a military one. The exportation of them to India, offering, however, a considerable profit, the Governor of Bussorah was prevailed on by bribes to wink at their being sent off in English vessels. The precedent being once established, there was no difficulty in obtaining the same privilege every year; for the Turks have such a regard for old customs, that they will do more in favour of a former precedent, than by virtue of an order even from the Porte. The one is held sacred in proportion to its immemorial usage; the other is frequently evaded, particularly when it enjoins any

thing in the light of a novelty or an innovation. From that time to the present, the exportation of horses has increased to such a degree, that during this last year about 1500 have been sent to Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. About one-half of these go to the former place, one-third to Bengal, and the remainder to Madras.

The average prime cost of those sent to Bombay is about three hundred rupees, the freight one hundred, and the expense of groom and maintenance, from the day of purchase to that of sale, one hundred more. Added to this, is a duty of fifty Ain piastres per head, paid to the Custom-house here, besides occasional bribes for permission to ship, and other incidental expenses; making the average cost of each horse landed in Bombay about six hundred rupees, independent of insurance and risk of loss by death, which that does not cover. The average sale-price of horses at Bombay is about eight hundred rupees each; from which about one hundred will be probably deducted, for expense of landing, maintenance until sold, brokerage on sale, &c., leaving a clear profit of one hundred rupees only per head.

The horses sent to Bengal are always of a finer kind and higher price. The greatest number of these are sent from here by the British Resident on his own private account, and the average cost of these is at least 1000 rupees each. The freight to Calcutta is two hundred rupees per head, and the duty to the Custom-house from Mohammedans fifty roomies, the same as for Bombay; but from British subjects only twenty roomies. The expense of grooms and maintenance, from the day of purchase to that of sale, may be reckoned at two hundred rupees, and one hundred allowed for insurance, risk of loss by death, agency, &c.; so that the average cost of each horse landed in Bengal is at least 1500 rupees. The sales are effected at a medium of 2000 rupees, or 200*l.* sterling, which is more than is made on sending them to Bombay.

The horses sent to Madras are few, and these only when a

ship can conveniently touch there on her way to Calcutta. These are equally expensive, and of the same class of fine animals which are sent to Bengal, the freight and other charges on them being exactly the same; but, from their arriving there but seldom, they produce in general a greater profit on the sale.

The usual way of conveying these horses from Bussorah to India is in stalls, constructed by rough stanchions between the decks of a ship, while the hold is appropriated to general cargo. The stalls run along the whole length of the deck on each side, making two ranges, and admit of a third between them going right fore and aft, amidships, interrupted only by the hatchways, masts, &c. A length of six feet is allowed from the ship's side, towards the centre of the deck; and along this the stanchions are fixed, at a breadth of two feet from each other, that being the greatest room allotted to each horse, though in some ships they reduce this to seventeen inches. The front stanchions have then a cross one nailed athwart them, about three feet six inches from the deck, so as to form a breast stanchion to the horse, and prevent his coming out. This is the way in which the side ranges of stalls are fitted up. The central range resembles them, except that, from being open before and behind, there is a row of stanchions in front, with one cross one for the breast, and another row in the rear of the horse, with a cross-piece for his hind-quarters, to prevent his moving either forward or backward.

When the horses are placed in their stalls, they have their heads towards the centre of the deck, for the sake of breathing more freely the air from the hatchways, and for the convenience of being fed and watered. Their heads are secured by a double halter: one end of which is tightened short, and fastened to the upright stanchion on each side of them; and the two hind-feet are fastened by double foot-ropes to a strong eye-cleet, securely fastened to the deck. When thus stowed, there is very little space between their sides; and they occasion much trouble by their gnawing through the stanchions, breaking their ropes, and, when

it is possible, biting each other. There is usually one groom sent with every five horses, and he has often an inferior assistant. These are all maintained at the ship's expense while going to India, and furnished with a free passage back if the ship returns. The provisions for the horses are put on board by the respective shippers of them; and though the barley and straw necessary for a ship's full number take up at least fifty tons of room, yet it goes free, or is included in the freight paid for the horses. Each groom, having his own portion of provisions, feeds his horses at his pleasure; but it is usual generally to give them chopped straw twice, and barley once in the day, which is towards evening.

The quantity of water requisite to be furnished by the ship, is four gallons per day for each horse; so that a large stock must be laid in. During the long voyages and hot summers, in the Gulf of Persia, many horses die from confined air and want of water; and on these no freight is paid, since the payment of freight for horses is always made in India, and is then given only for the number landed. A well-authenticated instance was related to me, however, of some horses in the ship *Euphrates*, which drank sea-water, sweetened with dates, for three successive days, after all the fresh water was exhausted, and it produced no other effect on them than a gentle purging; but it sufficed their thirst till they reached a place where they could renew their supply.

In blowing weather it is usual to place mats under the horses' feet, to prevent their slipping and falling on the deck; but they are never slung by the middle, as is done in English horse transports, for the purpose of giving them rest. With Arab horses, it is so usual a thing for them to sleep standing, and to do so for years in succession, without ever lying down, except when sick, that their standing posture for a whole voyage is not objected to, as an inconvenience, nor do they seem to suffer from want of exercise. Ships intended for conveying horses should have a good height between decks, never under six feet; and if reaching to seven, it is still better. A regular tier of ports, going fore and

aft, is also a great advantage; since, from the close stowage and great confinement of animal heat, a free passage for air is always desirable. If ports are not in the ship, large scuttles should be cut in lieu of them, and windsails for the hatchways should be used to increase the circulation of air below.

Of the horses exported to India from hence, the general age is about four years; those above seven are seldom sent, and colts under two, rarely or never, except by express desire of any one ordering it. Mares are by no means so easy to be procured as horses; since the Desert Arabs almost every where prefer them for their own riding, from their giving less trouble on a journey; they keep them also for breeding; but it is not true, as has been asserted, that no consideration will induce an Arab to part with his mare, or that he would as soon think of selling his wife and family. The fact is, that mares are more useful to them than horses, and, being less beautiful and less in fashion to ride on in India, are less in demand by the purchasers at Bussorah. But a person desirous of procuring a mare might at any time obtain one for the payment of its estimated value in the country; and this would be but little more than that of a horse of the same class. It has been thought, too, that there was a law prohibiting the exportation of mares from Arabia; but this, as has been already explained, extends to horses of every description. Such an order is as permanent as ever, and remains unrepealed at Constantinople: but since the Pasha of Bagdad, though not versed perhaps in the doctrines of political economy, perceives that the supply of horses actually keeps pace with the demand, and that, though 1500 are exported annually, as many can be raised for the service of the Government as could have been done when not one was allowed to be sent away, his fears on that head are quieted. A more powerful motive, however, for his winking at the non-observance of this decree of the Sublime Porte is, that the exportation is productive of great returns to the Custom-house here, and increases the funds of the Governor of Bussorah, who holds his place under

him, and whose wealth, however acquired, he one day hopes to enjoy, as the Sultan, who is above him, does that of the Pasha.

A custom has of late crept in, of the shippers of horses demanding from the captain or owners of the ship, an advance of a hundred rupees per head, which is lent to them without interest; and neither this sum nor the freight is paid until arriving at the destined port, when, if the horse on which this advance is made, dies on the passage, both the sum thus lent and the freight are lost. Injurious as this practice is to the shipping interest, it seems to be fixed beyond alteration, and has been owing to competition among Arab naquodahs and agents, who, in endeavouring to outdo each other in the number of horses they could obtain for their vessels, have established a custom highly prejudicial to themselves. The average number conveyed in each ship from hence was formerly about eighty, but it is now a hundred.

The duties on imports from India are regulated by the tariff established between the nation to which the owner of the goods belongs, and the Porte; and if the trader claims no such privilege of tariff, he is considered as a subject of the Empire, and pays accordingly. The tariff of the English fixes the duty on all their imports from India at three per cent. *ad valorem*, and this is regulated by the price at which the commodity has actually sold in Bussorah; so that the duty is not payable until the sale has been really effected. British subjects have the privilege of landing their goods either at the Factory, or at their own dwelling, or warehouse, which they may hire at rent during their stay here, without taking them to the Custom-house, where the goods of all others are obliged to go. The confidence placed by the Turks in the integrity of the English is such, that their own account of sales is taken without a check on them, and their ships' boats are allowed to pass and repass from the city to the river without examination; though both of these privileges are often abused by Arab supercargoes sailing in vessels under British colours.

The duty on imports paid by all those who are not subjects of

any nation having a tariff established by treaty with the Porte, is seven and a half per cent. *ad valorem*. This, however, is not regulated by the price at which the commodity sells, as is done with the English, but by an old standard of valuation contained in a Dufter, or book of estimates, made, as some think, several centuries ago, but certainly antecedent to the earliest period of the English trade here. By this standard, the value of most Indian articles is fixed at less than half their present selling price, some even at one-fourth, and all of them at least a third below their real value at the present day. Yet such is the veneration of the Turks for old customs of this kind, that though their power to accommodate this standard to existing circumstances has never been doubted, the interest both of the individuals in office under the Government, and of the Government itself, have not furnished a sufficiently powerful motive to break in upon an established usage. By this means, though the nominal duty of the English is less than that of the other traders here, the real duty paid by them is often more; as, for instance, on a chest of indigo, by the old valuation, the duty of seven and a half per cent. makes just nine piastres and a half; but as good indigo sells on an average at from 800 to 1000 piastres per chest, the English duty of three per cent. amounts to thirty piastres!

One cause of this extraordinary difference between the old estimate and the present value, independent of the real increase of price in the article from that period to the present one, is that the size and contents of every package is increased; and, as the old estimates were neither made by measure nor weight, a chest is still considered to be a chest, whether large or small; and all other packages are numbered in the same way. Some of the native merchants here tried a similar experiment in exporting goods to Bengal, by packing up two bales together, and, to save the duty, calling them, in their manifests, only one: but the officers of the Customs at Calcutta, not being such slaves to old usages as the Turks, opened these double bales, and taking the duty on one of

them, as before, seized the others, and condemned them as smuggled goods; by which, it is said, there was a loss of two lacks of rupees, or 20,000*l.* sterling, sustained by these shrewd experimentalists of Bussorah.

It has been observed, that all nations having a tariff established by treaty with the Porte, have their duties regulated by this; and that all other traders, of whatever country or denomination, are included in the laws and regulations applying to the subjects of the Empire. This was exemplified in a late instance of the arrival of two American vessels here, on a voyage of speculation and enquiry, who brought with them a variety of articles for sale, and money to purchase returns, if no market could be found for their imports. As these were not English, the Turks were at first a little puzzled to decide whether they could be considered as Europeans, or as their own subjects. Unfortunately for their deliberations, enquiry proved them to be neither. Yet they were certainly Fringhis, or Franks, as every one might see; but they came from the Yenghi Doonya, or the New World, which, according to the opinion of some of the most learned sages of the town, was itself dropped from the moon about four hundred years ago. The Book of Estimates at the Bussorah Custom-house was made, as they all agreed, long before this New World had existed; so that no provision was made in it for the subjects of such a country: and as to their nation, as Americans, they knew of neither an ambassador from, nor a treaty with them, existing at Constantinople; so that they were, from all these considerations, a sort of nondescript people, whom they knew not how to class. Fortunately, however, for the Americans, the British Resident possessed influence enough to turn the scale; and by his suggestion they were considered as Franks, and dealt with accordingly, being subjected only to the duties paid by the English.

The duties on exports are differently regulated. On dates and grain a small duty is paid by natives to a Coasting Custom-house near the entrance of the creek, which is farmed by a dif-

ferent person from the one who holds the great Custom-house above. This duty extends, however, to such dates and grain as are shipped from the creek, or immediately opposite to Bussorah, as the same articles taken on board in the river, about a quarter of a mile below, or at Minawi, are not liable to it; and this exemption continues throughout all the river below, even to the bar. The English pay no export duty on these or any other articles, which may serve as, or can be considered in the nature of, provisions, whether shipped from Bussorah or any other part of the river. On the export of copper, gall-nuts, lametta, and all goods brought down from Bagdad, which is the point of union for all the land caravans, there is a duty of five and a half per cent. paid by the natives, and three per cent. by the English; and as the valuation in both cases is nearly the same, the advantage is on the side of the British trader. Cochineal and coral, which come in large quantities across the Desert from Aleppo, are equally subject to this duty of five and a half per cent. *ad valorem;* but though these are annually sent from this port to India to an amount of many thousand pounds in value, they are invariably smuggled off to the ships; and though the Government are aware of the extent to which this is carried, and are defrauded by it of a large sum yearly, yet no steps are taken to put a stop to the practice; nor are any boats or persons seized with it, though its conveyance is always effected openly, and in broad day. On treasure, whether in coin, bullion, pearls, or precious stones, no duty is exacted; and if it were, it would be still more easily evaded than that on the two last-mentioned articles, since the packages are always of less bulk and compass.

The naval force of Bussorah was once sufficiently powerful to command the whole of the Persian Gulf; and the Turkish fleet, as it was called, in the time of Suliman Pasha of Bagdad, consisted of about twenty well-armed vessels, which were kept in actual service in that sea. These have now dwindled away to five or six old and unserviceable vessels, not one of which could

be considered as sea-worthy. At present, indeed, no attempt is made to send them to sea; but they are moored in different parts of the river, under the pretence of keeping it clear of robbers, while one lies at the mouth of the creek of Bussorah, to act as a guard-vessel for the Custom-house; and the Captain Pasha, who is a person of very little consideration, has his flag-ship abreast of Minawi, to return the salute of vessels passing her, and to announce, by a discharge of cannon, the visits of the Mutesellim. It was about the time of Suliman Pasha, or nearly half a century ago, that the Gulf was infested by pirates to a greater degree than even at present, when for the important services which the vessels of the Imaum of Muscat rendered to the Pasha of Bagdad, in assisting to clear the sea of these marauders, and to give safe passage to ships of trade, the Imaum himself was permitted to send three vessels annually to Bussorah from his own port of Muscat, and all his own goods imported in them were suffered to be landed free of duty. This was, however, too great a privilege to last for ever, and it has been since commuted for the payment of an annual sum of one thousand tomauns, which, however, is still thought to be less than the tenth part of the gain actually derived from this exemption.

The country around Bussorah has no beauties to recommend it. On the banks of the Euphrates, on both sides, for a long way above and below the town, there are sufficient date-trees and verdure to relieve the eye; but the country is every where so flat, and so few villages or people are to be seen, that there is a tiresome, monotonous, and gloomy silence throughout its whole extent. The tract immediately surrounding the city towards the land is a desert, with a horizon as level as the sea; and as it is covered with water from the overflowings of the river on the one side, and of Khore Abdallah on the other, for about six months in the year, it may be more frequently taken for sea than for land. This water is sometimes sufficiently deep to admit of the passage of boats from Bussorah to Zobeir, a town about ten or

twelve miles distant in a south-western direction. When this water disappears by evaporation, and the remainder is imbibed by the earth, the Desert continues for a long time almost impassable, as the soil is here a clayey earth, altogether free from sand; and when it becomes entirely dry, a crust of salt is left on the surface, of sufficient thickness to yield supplies of this article to the town and neighbouring villages. It is this salt which, whether it is inherent in the soil, or comes from the Khore Abdallah as an arm of the sea, renders the whole tract of many miles in length and breadth barren and unproductive.

It is the practice to enclose portions of this plain, near the city walls, within mounds thrown up for the purpose, and to water them from the canals of the river which supply the town. During the first year nothing is produced, but the soil freshens, and in the second year is cultivated. Its fertility encreases however progressively; and after the water of the Desert has been effectually secluded for a few years only, the enclosed portions become fine garden-plots, capable of producing any thing congenial with the climate. If the Government were a provident one, and the character of the people so influenced by it as to ensure greater attention to their own interests, and some consideration for their posterity, the whole of the tract which is now desert, and extends as far as the eye can reach to the westward from the highest towers of Bussorah, might be changed to waving fields of plenty and abundance, and teem with a population made happy by their own exertions. At present, however, in riding round the walls of the city, and particularly on the western and southern sides, nothing is seen but a dreary waste, to which the imagination can place no well-defined limits, when it conceives that the Desert reaches, almost without interruption, to the borders of Syria; and within the range of view from hence there is nothing to break the sea-like line of the visible horizon, excepting only the tops of the houses of Zobeir, just seen above it, with a few modern watch-towers in the neighbourhood of that

place, and the range of Gebel Senam, covered with a light blue tint, like a thick bed of clouds just rising in the west.

The climate of Bussorah is excessively hot during the summer, or from April to October; but yet not so hot as at Bagdad, where the thermometer rises above 120°, while here it is seldom above 110°. Its greater nearness to the sea may be perhaps one cause of this difference, and also the occasion probably of the greater moisture of the air, and of more refreshing dews during the hottest weather. The autumn is acknowledged to be generally unhealthy, and few people escape without fevers, many of whom are carried off by them. The winters and the springs are however delightful; for there is a sufficient degree of cold in the first, to render the use of warm clothing, carpeted rooms, and an evening fireside delightful; and in the last there is but little rain to interrupt the enjoyments of morning rides and free exercise in the open air. It is usual for invalids to come from India to Bussorah, for the restoration of their health; and if the seasons were properly chosen and attended to, there are few constitutions that would not benefit by the change.

The extreme filthiness of the town, which surpasses that of all other Turkish or Arab ones that I remember, is a great hindrance to perambulation through it; and in the summer it is insupportable, from the heat of the air, the confined alleys, and the discharge of refuse into the streets themselves, all which must, no doubt, affect the health as well as the comfort of the passengers; and in winter, riding on horseback without the walls is sometimes interrupted for several days together after only a slight fall of rain. The worst evil, however, which would be likely to be felt by an Indian invalid, who made this his hospital, would be the total want of society, except the members of the factory at which he might be lodged. Independent of the present Resident, there is not another individual in all Bussorah, whether male or female, native, or stranger, whose company could be enjoyed after the manner of European society; and there is consequently no one

whose intercourse amounts to more than a ceremonious visit for half an hour in the morning, and none of these understand English, or any other European language. These are evils which, even an hospitable host, a good library, and a numerous stud of horses, can hardly overbalance; and for want of these, no doubt, the advantages of a bracing winter climate, abundance of the best provisions for the table, including fine fruits, variety of vegetables, and a constant supply of the choicest game, are not felt to their full extent; since there can be little doubt that agreeable occupation for the mind has as powerful an effect as any bodily remedies in restoring the tone and vigour of health to the constitution of an Indian invalid.

The character of the Arabs of Bussorah, as well as of those settled along the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, partakes more of that of the Desert Arab than is elsewhere found in towns and cultivated lands. The citizens are respectful towards strangers; and there is no place that I have ever yet visited, where the English are held in such estimation, either by the Government or the people. There is an unusual degree of tolerance also towards all those of a different religion, and, regarding them as Mohammedans, a striking indifference about religious matters generally. Notwithstanding the unavoidable distinctions of rank and wealth among the inhabitants of so commercial a city as this, there is, nevertheless, a sort of Desert rudeness and independence among the lower order of its inhabitants, which is never found among a similar class in Egypt or Syria. Hospitality is seldom wanting, and protection is claimed and given in cases even of crime; while the laws of retaliation by blood, and the severest punishments of fornication and adultery, are observed here with nearly the same rigour as in the heart of Arabia. There were, during my stay in the house of the British Resident, some of the Mutesellim's own servants, who had fled there to claim *dukhiel*, or protection; and this being granted, they remain in safety till their crimes are forgotten or pardoned. Persons offending against the Resident have also flown to the

house of the Mutesellim for *dukhiel*, and have been received and sheltered there; so that a sort of account-current is kept between the parties granting this protection; and there is either a release of individual for individual, like an exchange of prisoners in Europe, or at the removal or change of the people in office, or the death of the private citizens who may afford them such shelter, there is a tacit act of grace, like a general jail-delivery.

An instance of Arab hospitality between avowed enemies, which occurred in the neighbourhood of Bussorah, will show how far habit and usage can conquer the feelings which are natural to us. The Montefik Sheik Twiney, who possessed nearly the whole of the country from Hillah to the sea, and Sheik Gathban, who had the district of Chaub, both on the opposite banks of the Shat-ul-Arab, were enemies to such a degree, and for so long a time, that it became a proverb in Bussorah, when any one would express the violent hatred of another, to say, 'It was like the hatred of Twiney to Gathban;' as if the feeling was thought to be hereditary and inherent in the government of the provinces themselves. A reverse of fortune dispossessed Twiney of his Sheikdom, when he fled for refuge to the porch of his oldest enemy in the Chaub district. The Sheik Gathban, having heard of his flight, and receiving news of his approach, rose and went out, attended by all his principal dependents, to meet him. The interview was as that of the oldest and most sincere friends. The fugitive Sheik was set on the horse of his protector, and, being conducted to his residence, was placed there in the seat of honour, when Gathban, taking his ring and seal from off his finger, placed it on that of Twiney, saying, 'As long as you remain beneath my roof, you are not only in perfect safety, but I constitute you, by this seal, the Sheik of the Chaub, and woe be to him who spurns your authority!' This chief remained some time in *dukhiel* with his enemy, who, after the most strenuous efforts, at length effected an accommodation on his behalf with the Pasha of Bagdad, who had dispossessed him; and Twiney was again restored by the influence of

Gathban to the full authority of his own Sheikdom, and, with it, to the former enmity between the Montefiks and the Chaubs, which continued with the same force as ever!

Among the Sheiks of the Desert, many similar instances are recounted, and of the fact of their happening, there can be no doubt; but in analysing the motives and the feelings of individuals so conducting themselves towards each other, there is considerable difficulty in assigning satisfactory explanations to them. A striking instance was also related to me of the slavish obedience to one chief, which marked the days of the Sheik-el-Jebal, or Old Man of the Mountains, as he is called in our histories of the Crusades, and which still continues in some degree to be a feature of the Arab character. This same Sheik Twiney, who after his restoration was the greatest enemy to the Wahabee cause, was followed by his whole tribe with a feeling of attachment and obedience that united them as one man; and his name not only held all his dependents firmly together, but struck terror into the hearts of his enemies whenever it was mentioned. Sheik Abdallah Ibn Saood, who was then the Wahabee chief, was desirous of accomplishing the death of Twiney; and called his slaves around him, to demand from them a proof of their fidelity to their master. Of these, he is said to have had about fifty blacks from Soudan, who were always ready for the most daring enterprises of murder, and seemed to glory in imbruing their hands in human blood. The assassination of Twiney was proposed; and, though immediate death was the certain consequence of such a task, the execution of it was contended for among the slaves, with all the ardour of persons seeking the most honourable distinctions. It was confided to the most favoured one, and he accordingly set out on his errand. Arriving at the tent of the Montefik Sheik, he was received with the hospitality invariably shown to strangers; and, remaining there until the time of evening prayer, he stole behind the Sheik while he was prostrating himself, and, on his rising, thrust him through the body with a spear. As this was done in the midst of the tribe, he was

soon cut into a thousand pieces, and his body given to the dogs of the camp to devour. The consequence of this event to the tribe itself, was their entire disunion and dispersion; and according to the expression of one of the Arabs belonging to it, who was a witness of the scene, 'the very hearts who, under Twiney, were firm as those of lions, and thought that they were equal to the conquest of the world, now trembled like the leaves of autumn; and those on whom the sun rose as heroes, fled from their own shadows ere he set.'

The Wahabee chief himself, in the plenitude of his power, possessed an influence and an authority quite equal to any thing known in former or in present times; and a mandate issued beneath his seal was all-powerful from the Nedjed to the borders of Yemen, and from the shores of the Red Sea to those of the Persian Gulf. But now that he had received some signal defeats from the Egyptian army under Ibrahim Pasha, he had become a fugitive from castle to castle, and from post to post; and those who in the day of his prosperity were his most zealous adherents, had now, in the hour of adversity, become his most inveterate enemies. Nothing seems to have been more erroneous than the light in which the union of the Great Desert tribes to the Wahabee interest has been generally viewed. It was thought that the doctrines of Abd-ul-Wahab had been the torch that kindled the flames of a new crusade, and that religious enthusiasm was the bond by which these new reformers were united. But there is too little of holy zeal in the character of the Desert Arabs, who are notoriously indifferent to both the doctrines and practices of religion, to suppose that it was this alone which stirred them up to enthusiasm in the cause. The field of plunder, always alluring to them, from habit and long-established usage, which this new war opened, was a more powerful temptation than the conversion of souls; and the pillage of the shrines and temples of the corrupters of the faith by land, and of the richly laden vessels of Indian idolaters by sea, was of more weight with them than even the destruction of unbe-

lievers by the sword. A hundred facts, of alliance and treaty, as well as of war and peace, both among themselves and with strangers, might be cited to prove that their views and their motives were chiefly temporal; and that, if spiritual reasons were assigned, it was rather as a cloak for excesses, which nothing but religious wars have ever yet given rise to, and nothing but a misguided zeal in a supposed holy cause would ever seek to justify.

At present the Wahabee power is fast declining; and Abdallah Ibn Saood, who, but a year or two since, ruled nearly the whole of Arabia by his signet, is now forsaken by his friends, pursued and harassed by his enemies, and contemned and despised by both. It has been thought here that the Pashas of Bagdad and of Egypt might at any time have put an end to the war, and crushed the Wahabee power in an instant; and it is asserted that they now suffer Ibn Saood to exist, as the pretence of keeping up a force against him furnishes them with excuses for the delay of tribute, and for balancing their accounts with Constantinople by a display of long arrears of war expenses, which never actually took place. The Wahabees are reduced to a state, however, in which they are incapable of doing much injury by land; and it wants only the extirpation of the Joassamee pirates by sea, to complete the annihilation of their power. For the execution of this task, all eyes have long been directed to the English; and the inference drawn from their neglect is, either that their trading interest is promoted by the hindrance thus offered by the pirates to all native vessels in the Gulf, or that they are afraid of attacking them from apprehension of defeat.

This plundering or piratical disposition is so general among the Arabs of these parts, that during the recent government of Bussorah by an Arab Sheik, it was really unsafe to pass from the city to the river by the creek after four o'clock, as boats were attacked and pillaged in open day, and after sun-set no one stirred from his own house; while, at any time during this government,

no one ventured beyond the precincts of the town, without an armed party for his defence. The police of the city, under the present Mutesellim, is so well managed, and a general confidence is so well established, that it is safe to visit any part of it at any hour of the night or day. This man himself takes a peculiar pleasure in perambulating the streets, and going along the creek in a canoe, disguised and accompanied only by an ugly Abyssinian slave. They often effect wonders, though alone, even before they are discovered; and when it is once known who they are that dare to interfere in rectifying abuses, the dread that they inspire is sufficient to disperse a host.

There was an order issued but lately by the Mutesellim, forbidding arms to be worn by Arabs who came into the city from without; and so much was his authority respected, that the observance of this prohibition was very general. Some persons were found, however, by the Governor and his slave, during their evening rambles, who had disregarded the mandate; and the next day they were taken, first to the Jisser-el-Meleh, or the Bridge of Salt, near the British Factory, where they were exposed to public view, by having their ears nailed to a post for several hours; they were next taken before the Palace in the Corn-market, and received several hundred strokes of the bastinado on the soles of the feet; after which they had their beards and mustachios shaved off, and were ultimately turned out of the city, and forbidden ever to enter its walls again.

Though this severity preserves sufficient safety in the town and its immediate neighbourhood, there are, nevertheless, many robbers by water on the river, both between this and Kourna above, and between this and Debbeh below. On the banks of the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Hye, and the Karoon, it is still worse; for there are whole tribes who encamp along them, for the sole purpose of attacking richly laden boats passing the stream. During fine weather, while the boats can keep in mid-channel, they are in general safe; but strong southerly winds oblige them some-

times to take shelter near the land, when their plunder is almost inevitable. The following instance of this occurred within the present month only.

A large boat, descending from Bagdad, with all the treasure of the Damascus caravan, to the amount of ten lacs of rupees, or upwards of 100,000*l.* sterling, principally intended to be sent by a ship to Bengal, was driven by a strong southerly wind into a bight of the river on the north-eastern side. After anchoring, the captain went on shore to reconnoitre the ground, and meeting with three or four Arabs, enquired of them whether a portion of the Beni Lam, who are great robbers, was not encamped near. He was assured that they were not, but that, on the contrary, the Sheik of a tribe whom he knew to be friendly, had pitched his tents just behind the trees; and was invited to go up and pay his respects to him. The captain consented; but had no sooner turned to go on his way with them, than he was seized by these four men, and bound hand and foot. The crew, seeing this transaction from the boat, and observing the small number of his assailants, jumped on shore, with arms in their hands, to rescue him, when instantly two or three hundred men rushed from among the bushes, seized the boat, and put all those who resisted to death. The treasure, which was chiefly in gold and silver coin, was landed in an hour, and carried off into the Desert, and the boat scuttled and destroyed. The captain, whom I myself saw, and who related to me the whole affair, was left bound on the earth, and wounded in three places by a sword and a spear in resisting the first four traitors who seized him; but, after much difficulty, he loosed himself from his bonds, got to a neighbouring village, and came by slow journeys to Bussorah, with his wounds yet unhealed.

The Mutesellim sent his young son off with a party to the spot as soon as he heard of the affair, but the robbers were by that time at a secure distance; and, indeed, as the Desert is open to them on each side of the river for a retreat, preventives are more prac-

ticable than remedies, and the slightest precaution to avoid the evil, is of more worth than collected hosts to retrieve it, when once it is done.

In stature and general appearance the Arabs of Bussorah and its neighbourhood are stouter than those of Yemen, Oman, and the Hedjaz, but not so large as those of Egypt and Syria. In person, both men and women struck me as uglier than either; for, besides the pale blue stains, or tattooing on the face, the women are dark, squalid, blear-eyed, and haggard, before they are thirty, and the men have a look of care and misery, which wrinkles their brow more than age. The general poverty of their dress, and the filth which is observed through all classes and conditions, except that of the very highest, increases the effect of their deformities.

The cutaneous eruption of the skin, which commences at Aleppo, and extends through Orfa, Diarbekr, Mardin, and Moosul, to Bagdad, is not known here; but there are many afflicted with leprosy, who live in huts apart from the rest of the inhabitants, on the banks of the creek leading to the river, and who subsist entirely by casual charity.

Upon the whole, therefore, the general impression likely to be made on the mind of a European visiting Bussorah, would be, that it is an ill-built and half-ruined city, seated in a climate which is for half the year intolerable, defiled by filth enough to engender of itself the most pestilential diseases, and inhabited by an ignorant, a wretched, and an ugly race of people,—without any other advantages to set against these evils, than that of a favourable situation for trade, an agreeable winter, and an abundance and variety of provisions.

CHAPTER XXIII.

HISTORY OF THE JOASSAMEE PIRATES, AND THEIR ATTACKS ON BRITISH SHIPS.

Nov. 18th, 1816.—The squadron in Bushire Roads, consisting of his Majesty's ship Challenger, Captain Brydges, and the East India Company's cruizers, Mercury, Ariel, and Vestal, were reported to be now ready for sea. Their departure was therefore fixed for to-day, and the destination of all was said to be Ras-el-Khyma, and other ports of the Joassamee pirates in the Persian Gulf; from whence, when the object of the expedition was accomplished, one of the cruizers was intended to be dispatched to Bombay, and the others would follow their respective orders.

Short as my acquaintance with the commanders of these vessels had been, it was sufficient to procure for me the offer of a

passage from each, as far as the squadron might proceed together, and the assurance of a reception on board the ship destined for Bombay, whenever they might separate. Captain Blast, of the Mercury, I had before met at Mocha on my first voyage to India, but his ill health obliging him to quit his ship, and remain on shore at Bushire, until her return from the pirate coast, the command devolved on his first lieutenant. Mr. Bruce, the resident of Bushire, and Lieutenant Taylor of the Bombay army, with an Arab Mollah, a Persian Mirza, an Armenian secretary, a pilot, and a train of native servants, were, however, all going to assist in the negociations with the pirates on the coast; and as the Mercury was the largest vessel, and the only one of the whole whose return to Bushire was certain, they were all to embark in her.

Colonel Corsellis and myself, who were both destined for Bombay, had therefore determined on taking our passage in one of the others; but the solicitations on the part of Mr. Bruce and Mr. Taylor to be of their party, were so pressingly kind, and seemingly sincere, that notwithstanding the already crowded number destined to join them, we yielded to their persuasions.

The history of the rise of these Joassamee pirates, to whose ports the squadron was destined, was, as far as I could learn, briefly this. The line of coast from Cape Mussenndom to Bahrain on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf, had been from time immemorial occupied by a tribe of Arabs called Joassamees. These, from local position, were all engaged in maritime pursuits. Some traded in their own small vessels to Bussorah, Bushire, Muscat, and even India; others annually fished in their own boats on the pearl banks of Bahrain; and a still greater number hired themselves out as sailors to navigate the coasting small craft of the Persian Gulf. All, however, were so much more skilful, industrious, and faithful in their engagements, than the other tribes of the coast, that they were always preferred, and constantly spoken of as the best people throughout the Gulf.

On the rise of the reformed religion of Abd-ul-Wahab, when Derryheea, the whole of Nedjed, and all the interior of Ammaan, had submitted to his doctrine, the sea-coast next became the object of conquest and conversion, and the arms of the Wahabees were consequently directed against Ras-el-Khyma as the seat of the Joassamee Arabs, the only tribe in this part of Arabia who had not yet submitted to their doctrines.

During three whole years, it is said, these irreligious sailors resisted all the attempts that were made, both by the pen and sword, to bring them over to the new doctrines and precepts, held out to them as the only one which their own original faith enjoined, or by the observance of which they could hope for salvation.

The force of arms, however, at length prevailed; for as the Wahabee power became more extended throughout the tented deserts, in which it round its first proselytes, the chiefs and warriors were able to direct all their strength to subdue the refractory spirit of those, who had so long bidden successful defiance to their exhortations and their threats.

The town of Ras-el-Khyma, with all its dependencies along the coast, therefore, submitted, and at the same moment that they received the conquerors within their gates, they bowed submission to the new doctrines which they taught, and swore fidelity to such laws and injunctions as the most learned and holy of the leaders might pronounce these doctrines to impose.

The tenets of Abd-ul-Wahab have been too often explained to need a repetition in detail: they enjoin the worship of one God, a belief in his prophets, among whom they admit of Abraham, Moses, and Christ, as distinguished leaders, and hold Mohammed to be the seal of them all: they consider the Koran to be a sufficient guide for all the purposes of policy and morals, and insist on the strictest observance of its maxims. It is thus that the right of conquest over infidels, the promulgation of their faith by fire and sword, and the perfect disposal of the lives and

properties of their prisoners, are preached, not merely as admissible, but indispensable duties, binding on all adherents of the true faith, and both cowardly and criminal not to carry into execution.

The conquered Joassemees were called upon to abandon not only their former corrupted faith, but also their former mode of living; the merit of which in industry, sobriety, and fidelity, was far outbalanced by the defiling state of communication in which they lived with unbelievers and strangers to the true God. They obeyed the call with all the enthusiasm which new religions are so frequently found to inspire, and lived for a short time on the scanty productions of their own soil, and the fish of their own waters. This, however, could not last long; the spark of religious zeal once kindled, either bursts into a blaze, or becomes again extinguished; for if in any one state of feeling more than another a stationary medium cannot be admitted, it is certainly in the fanaticism of new converts to a proselytizing faith. The Joassamees, therefore, directed their views to war and conquest; their leaders easily persuaded them that God was on their side, and that therefore the legions of hell itself could not prevail against them; and as their own feelings accorded with the admonitions of their teachers, war and plunder was the universal cry, and destruction to infidels was vowed in the same breath that uttered the name of their merciful Creator, and implored his aid to the accomplishment of their holy labours. The local position of the Joassamees offered them no wide field of conquest by land; but as the sea was still before them, like the great high-way of nations on which men of every faith and denomination had hitherto passed unmolested, they determined to reap the harvest of their toils on what might be termed in every sense their own element.

The small coasting-vessels of the Gulf, from their defenceless state, were the first object of their pursuit, and these soon fell an easy prey; until, emboldened by success, they directed their views

to more arduous enterprizes, and having once tasted the sweets of plunder in the increase of their wealth, had determined to attempt more promising victories.

About the year 1797, one of the East India Company's vessels of war, the Viper, of ten guns, was lying at anchor in the inner roads of Bushire. Some dows of the Joassamees were at the same moment anchored in the harbour; but as their warfare had hitherto been waged only against what are called native vessels, and they had either feared or respected the British flag, no hostile measures were ever pursued against them by the English ships. The commanders of these dows had applied to the Persian agent of the British East India Company there, for a supply of English gunpowder and cannon-shot for their cruize; and, as this man had no suspicions of their intentions, he furnished them with an order to the commanding officer on board for the quantity required. The Captain of the Viper was on shore at the time, in the Agent's house, but the order being produced to the officer on board, the powder and shot were delivered, and the dows weighed and made sail. The crew of the Viper were at this moment taking their breakfast on deck, and the officers were below; when, on a sudden, a cannonading was opened on them by two of the dows, who attempted also to board. The officers, leaping on deck, called the crew to quarters, and cutting their cable, got sail upon the ship, so as to have the advantage of manœuvring. A regular engagement now took place between this small cruizer and four dows, all armed with great guns, and full of men. In the contest, Lieut. Carruthers, the commanding officer, was once wounded by a ball through the loins; but, after girding a handkerchief round his waist, he still kept the deck, till a ball entering his forehead, he fell. Mr. Salter, the midshipman on whom the command devolved, continued to fight the ship with determined bravery, and, after a stout resistance, beat them off, chased them some distance out to sea, and subsequently regained the anchorage with safety.

The lives lost on board the Company's cruiser on this occasion

were considerable, and there was something so glaringly treacherous on the part of the pirates in the affair, that it was believed it would call forth the immediate vengeance of the British Government in India. No hostilities were, however, commenced against the perpetrators of this piratical attempt; nor, as far as is known, was any remonstrance, or even enquiry, made on the occasion.

Several years elapsed before the wounds of the first defeat were sufficiently healed to induce a second attempt on vessels under the British flag, though a constant state of warfare was still kept up against the small craft of the Gulf. This, however, at length occurred about the year 1804, when a new race of young warriors might be supposed to have replaced the slain and wounded, that in this period had been disabled, or fallen in battle.

About the year 1804, the East India Company's cruiser, Fly, was taken by a French privateer, off the island of Kenn, in the Persian Gulf; but before the enemy boarded her, she ran into shoal water, near that island, and sunk the Government dispatches, and some treasure with which they were charged, in about two and a half fathoms of water, taking marks for the recovery of them, if possible, at some future period. The passengers and crew were taken to Bushire, where several other vessels were captured by the French ship, and consequently a number of prisoners were collected there, as all were set at liberty, except the commander, Lieut. Mainwaring, and his officers, Mr. Arthur and Mr. Maillard, who were taken to the Isle of France, probably with a view to exchange. A number of those who were left behind, including a Mr. Yowl and Mr. Flowers, gentlemen, and one Pennel, a seaman, purchased by subscription a country dow at Bushire, and fitted her out with necessaries for her voyage to Bombay. On their passage down the Gulf, as they thought it would be practicable to recover the Government packet and treasure sunk off Kenn, they repaired to that island, and were successful, after much exertion, in recovering the former, which being in their estimation

of the first importance, as the dispatches were from England to Bombay, they sailed with them on their way thither, without loss of time.

Near the mouth of the Gulf, between Cape Mussunndom and the island called the Great Tomb, they were captured by a fleet of Joassamee boats, after some resistance, in which several were wounded, and taken into their chief port at Ras-el-Khyma. Here they were detained in hope of ransom, and during their stay were shown to the people of the town as curiosities, no similar beings having been before seen there within the memory of man. The Joassamee ladies were so minute in their enquiries, indeed, that they were not satisfied without determining in what respect an uncircumcised infidel differed from a true believer.

When these unfortunate Englishmen had remained for several months in the possession of the Arabs, and no hope of their ransom appeared, it was determined to put them to death, and thus rid themselves of unprofitable enemies. An anxiety to preserve life, however, induced the suggestion, on their parts, of a plan for the temporary prolongation of it, at least. With this view, they communicated to the chief of the pirates the fact of their having sunk a quantity of treasure near the island of Kenn, and of their knowing the marks of the spot, by bearings of objects on shore, with sufficient accuracy to recover it, if furnished with good divers. They offered, therefore, to purchase their own liberty by a recovery of this money for their captors; and on the fulfilment of their engagement it was solemnly promised to be granted to them.

They soon sailed for the spot, accompanied by divers accustomed to that occupation on the pearl banks of Bahrain; and, on their anchoring at the precise points of bearing taken, they commenced their labours. The first divers who went down were so successful, that all the crew followed in their turns, so that the vessel was at one time almost entirely abandoned at anchor. As

the men, too, were all so busily occupied in their golden harvest, the moment appeared favourable for escape; and the still captive Englishmen were already at their stations to overpower the few on board, cut the cable, and make sail. Their motions were either seen or suspected, as the divers repaired on board in haste, and the scheme was thus frustrated.

They were now given their liberty, as promised, by being landed on the island of Kenn, where, however, no means offered for their immediate escape. The pirates, having at the same time landed themselves on the island, commenced a general massacre of the inhabitants, in which their released prisoners, fearing they might be included, fled for shelter to clefts and hiding-places in the rocks. During their refuge here, they lived on such food as chance threw in their way, going out under cover of the night to steal a goat and drag it to their haunts.

When the pirates had at length completed their work of blood, and either murdered or driven off every former inhabitant of the island, they quitted it themselves, with the treasure which they had thus collected from the sea and the shore. The Englishmen now ventured to come out from their hiding-places, and to think of devising some means for their escape. Their good fortune, in a moment of despair, threw them on the wreck of a boat, near the beach, which was still capable of repair. In searching about the now deserted town, other materials were found, which were of use to them, and sufficient plank and logs of wood for the construction of a raft. These were both completed in a few days, and the party embarked on them in two divisions, to effect a passage to the Persian shore. One of these, the boat, was lost in the attempt, and all on board her perished; while the raft, with the remainder of the party, reached safe.

As the packet of Government dispatches had been found only to contain papers, which the Arabs neither understood nor valued, it had constantly remained in the possession of these unfortunate

sufferers, who had guarded it with an almost religious zeal, and it still was preserved to them by being with the remnant of the party thus remaining.

Having gained the main-land, they now set out on foot towards Bushire, following the line of the coast for the sake of the villages and water. In this they are said to have suffered incredible hardships and privations of every kind. No one knew the language of the country perfectly, and the roads and places of refreshment still less; they were in general destitute of clothes and money, and constantly subject to plunder and imposition, poor as they were. Their food was therefore often scanty, and always of the worst kind; and they had neither shelter from the burning sun of the day, nor from the chilling dews of night.

The Indian sailors, sipahees, and servants, of whom a few were still remaining when they set out, had all dropped off by turns; and even Europeans had been abandoned on the road, in the most affecting way, taking a last adieu of their comrades, who had little else to expect but soon to follow their fate. One instance is mentioned of their having left one who could march no further, at the distance of only a mile from a village; and on returning to the spot on the morrow, under the hope of restoring him to their party, his mangled bones only were found, as he had been devoured during the night by jackals. The packet being light, was still, however, carried by turns, and preserved through all obstacles and difficulties; and with it they reached at length the island of Busheab, to which they crossed over in a boat from the main.

Here they were detained, and money was even demanded of them by the Sheik, for his protection, or permission to land on his island. Finding entreaty would not prevail on this inhospitable chief to forward their views, they held a higher tone; and, defenceless as they were, a succession of miseries had given them fortitude enough to brave insolence with firmness, and to threaten the future vengeance of the British Government, if they were not instantly

furnished by him with a boat for the conveyance of themselves and the dispatches in their charge to Bushire. This had the desired effect: the boat was provided, and the party embarked. One of the gentlemen expired in the act of being conveyed from the shore, several others died on the voyage itself, and one after their arrival at Bushire; leaving, out of all their numerous party, two survivors,—Mr. Jowl, an officer of a merchant ship, and Pennel, an English seaman.

These ultimately reached Bombay with the packet, for the preservation of which they were thought to be adequately rewarded by a mere letter of thanks from the Government there, after these almost unexampled sufferings.

In the following year, two English brigs, the Shannon, Captain Babcock, and the Trimmer, Captain Cummings, were on their voyage from Bombay to Bussorah, both of them belonging to Mr. Manesty, the Company's Resident at that place. These were both attacked, near the islands of Polior and Kenn, by several boats, and, after a very slight resistance on the part of the Shannon only, were taken possession of, and a part of the crew of each, and these Indians, put to the sword. Captain Babcock, having been seen by one of the Arabs to discharge a musket during the contest, was taken by them on shore; and after a consultation on his fate, it was determined that he should forfeit the arm by which this act of resistance was committed. It was accordingly severed from his body by one stroke of a sabre, and no steps were taken either to bind up the wound, or to prevent his bleeding to death. The captain himself had yet sufficient presence of mind left, however, to think of means for his own safety, and there being near him some ghee, or clarified butter, he procured this to be heated, and, while yet warm, thrust the bleeding stump of his arm into it. It had the effect of lessening the effusion of blood, and ultimately of saving a life that would otherwise most probably have been lost.

The crew were then all made prisoners, and taken to a port of Arabia, from whence they gradually dispersed and escaped. The

vessels themselves were additionally armed, one of them mounting twenty guns, manned with Arab crews, and sent from Ras-el-Khyma to cruise in the Gulf, where they committed many successful piracies on maritime trade.

Had these been some of the East India Company's ships of war, it is not improbable but that the affair would have been passed over unnoticed, as was done in the case of the Viper; but belonging to Mr. Manesty, pecuniary interest urged what a regard to the honour of the flag had not yet been sufficiently powerful even to suggest. A strong remonstrance was made by Mr. Manesty to the chief of the pirates in their own port, and threats held out of retaliation, which, as they came from one clothed with official power, were probably regarded as the sentiments of the Government itself, though they are now believed to have been those of the ships' owner alone, exerting himself to recover his lost property.

The Government, indeed, were not only indifferent to the insult shown their flag, and the injury done to commerce generally, by the triumphs of these lawless plunderers, but an order was issued by the President in Council, directing all the commanders of the Bombay Marine, not on any consideration to attack or molest these *innocent* natives of the Gulf, and threatening to visit with the displeasure of the Government any among them who might be found in any way to interrupt them or to provoke their anger.

Within a year or two after this, an attack was made upon the East India Company's cruiser, Fury, of six guns, commanded by Lieutenant Gowan, when carrying dispatches from Bussorah to Bombay. The attack was made by several boats in company, and during a short calm; but the resistance made was determined and effectual, and the boats were made to sheer off, with the loss of a great number of men. On the arrival of the Fury at Bombay, the commander waited on the governor in the usual way; but on reporting the affair of the battle, instead of being applauded for his spirited resistance, and his preservation of the dispatches under

his charge, he received a severe reprimand from the Governor himself in person, for disobeying the orders given, and daring to molest the *innocent* and *unoffending* Arabs of these seas.

The Governor of that period, from ignorance of the character of this people, could never be persuaded that they were the aggressors, and constantly upbraided the officers of the English vessels with having in some way provoked the attacks of which they complained, — continuing still to insist on the observance of the orders, in not firing on these vessels until they had first been fired at by them.

The Mornington, of twenty-four guns, and the Teignmouth, of eighteen, both ships of war in the Bombay Marine, were successively attacked by these daring marauders, who were now emboldened, by the forbearance of the British Government, to attempt the stoutest of their vessels, since they very naturally imputed to cowardice a conduct which scarcely any but the members of the Government itself could at all understand or explain.

In the year 1808, the force of the Joassamees having gradually increased, and becoming flushed with the pride of victory, their insulting attacks on the British flag were more numerous and more desperate than ever. The first of these was on the ship Minerva, of Bombay, on her voyage to Bussorah, belonging also to Mr. Manesty. The attack was commenced by several boats,— for they never cruize singly,—and a spirited resistance in a running fight was kept up, at intervals, for several days in succession. A favourable moment offered, however, for boarding; the ship was overpowered by numbers, and carried amidst a general massacre. The captain was said to have been cut up into separate pieces, and thrown overboard by fragments; the second mate and carpenter were alone spared, probably to make use of their services; and an Armenian lady, the wife of Lieut. Taylor, then at Bushire, was reserved perhaps for still greater sufferings.

The ship was taken safely into Ras-el-Khyma, twenty guns of different calibre were mounted on her, and she was sent to

cruise in the Gulf. The second mate was still kept on shore, at the town; the carpenter was sent into the country, to procure materials and construct gun-carriages, &c.; and Mrs. Taylor was still held in the most afflicting bondage for several months, and was at length ransomed by Mr. Bruce, of Bushire, for a large sum.

A few weeks after this, the Sylph, one of the East India Company's cruisers, of sixty tons, and mounting eight guns, was accompanying the Mission under Sir Harford Jones, from Bombay to Persia, when, being separated from the rest of the squadron, she was attacked in the Gulf by a fleet of dows. These bore down with all the menacing attitude of hostility; but as the commander, Lieut. Graham, had received from the Bombay Government the same orders as all the rest of his brother officers in the Marine, not to open his fire on any of these vessels until he had been first fired on himself, the ship was hardly prepared for battle, and the colours were not even hoisted to apprise them to what nation she belonged. The dows approached, threw their long overhanging prows across the Sylph's beam, and, pouring in a shower of stones on her deck, beat down and wounded almost every one who stood on it. They then boarded, and made the ship an easy prize, before more than a single shot had been fired, and, in their usual way, put every one whom they found alive to the sword. Lieut. Graham fell, covered with wounds, down the fore hatchway of his own vessel, where he was dragged by some of the crew into a store-room, in which they had secreted themselves, and barricadoed the door with a crow-bar from within; while a Persian passenger, Mahomed Hussein Khan, who was attached to the Mission as a secretary, had crawled into one of the cabin lockers abaft, with the same view.

The cruizer was thus completely in the possession of the enemy, who made sail on her, and were bearing her off in triumph to their own port, in company with their boats. Not many hours had elapsed, however, before the Nereid frigate, Captain Corbett, the Commodore of the squadron from which the Sylph had separated,

hove in sight, and perceiving this vessel in company with the dows, without any apparent resistance, judged her to be a prize in possession of the pirates. She accordingly gave them all chase, and coming up with the brig, the Arabs took to their boats and abandoned her, when she was taken possession of by the frigate, and secured. The chase was continued after the dows themselves, but without success, owing to the detention here occasioned, and their own superior sailing; though it is said that the Nereid sunk one of them by a broadside.

Only three days after this, the East India Company's cruiser Nautilus, of fourteen guns, commanded by Lieut. Bennet, was proceeding up the Gulf with dispatches, and on passing the island of Anjar, on the south side of Kishma, near the Persian shore, was attacked by a squadron of these pirates, consisting of a bughala, a dow, and two trankies; the two former mounting great guns, the others having oars as well as sails, but being all full of armed men. The attack was made in the most skilful and regular manner, the two larger vessels bearing down on the starboard-bow, and the smaller ones on the quarter. As Lieut. Bennet had received the same positive orders as his brother officers, not to commence an attack until fired on, he reserved his guns until they were so close to him that their dancing and brandishing of spears, the attitudes with which they menace death, could be distinctly seen, and their songs and war-shouts heard. The bow-gun was then fired across their hawse, as a signal for them to desist, and the British colours were displayed. This being disregarded, it was followed by a second shot, which had no more effect. A moment's consultation was then held by the officers, when it was thought a want of regard to their own safety to use further forbearance, and a broadside was instantly discharged among them all.

An action now commenced between the Nautilus and the two largest of the boats, mounting cannon, and continued for nearly an hour; the trankies lying on their oars during the contest to await its result, and seize the first favourable moment

to board. As the superiority on the part of the cruiser became more decidedly apparent, these, however, fled, and were soon followed by the others, the whole of whom the Nautilus pursued, and fired on during the chase as long as her shot would tell. In this action, the English boatswain was killed, and Lieutenant Tanner slightly wounded; but the destruction in the boats was thought to have been considerable.

These repeated aggressions at length opened the eyes of the Bombay Government to the weakness of their own forbearance, and the public voice seemed to call for some stroke of revenge on the injuries and insults that had for so many years been offered to the British flag, and to those who sailed under its protection. An expedition was accordingly assembled at Bombay, consisting of European and Indian troops, and ships of war, both from the Navy and the East India Company's Marine, as well as transports for the service of the whole. The naval force consisted of La Chiffone frigate, Captain Wainwright, as Commodore of the squadron; his Majesty's ship Caroline, of thirty-eight guns, Captain Gordon; and eight of the East India Company's cruisers, namely, the Mornington, Ternate, Aurora, Prince of Wales, Ariel, Nautilus, Vestal, and Fury, with four large transports, and the Stromboli bomb-ketch. The military force was composed of the 65th regiment of foot, a detachment of the 47th, a detachment of the Bombay artillery, forming altogether about a thousand men, and about a thousand native troops, or sipahees, all under the command of Colonel Smith of the 65th.

The fleet sailed from Bombay in the month of September, and the first incident of the voyage was certainly an inauspicious one, for when scarcely clear of the harbour's mouth, the bottom of the Stromboli fell out, and the vessel sunk in an instant; drowning Lieutenant Sealy of the Artillery, and Lieutenant Taylor of the Marine, who were on board, as well as a great portion of her crew. This vessel, it seems, however, was one of the most unfit that could be selected for the service she was destined to perform.

At a period long previous to this, she had been condemned as unfit for service, and lay for nearly three years moored off the entrance to Tannah river, or the strait which separates the Island of Salsette from the Mahratta coast, as a floating battery. From thence she had been removed to the lower part of Bombay harbour, and moored at the Sunken rock as a buoy. Yet, on the fitting out of this expedition for the Persian Gulf, she was thought fit not merely to cross the Arabian Sea, but to be deeply laden with bombs and shells, the heaviest and most difficult cargo to be borne by any vessel, and requiring a frame of more than ordinary strength to support. The consequence of this injudicious, not to say blind and ignorant selection, was the loss of the only bomb-vessel, in a fleet destined for bombarding, with the lives of two valuable officers, and a portion of the crew on board her.

The voyage was still continued, and after a long passage the expedition reached Muscat, where it remained for many days to refresh and arrange their future plans; giving thus, at the same time, sufficient advice of their approach to their enemies, and ample time for them to prepare for their reception. The fleet at length sailed, and soon after reached Ras-el-Khyma, the chief port of the pirates within the Gulf. Here the squadron anchored abreast of the town, and the troops were landed under cover of the ships and boats. The inhabitants of the town assembled in crowds to repel their invaders; but the firm line, the regular volleys, and the steady charge of the troops at the point of the bayonet, overcame every obstacle, and multiplied the heaps of the slain. A general conflagration was then ordered, and a general plunder permitted to the troops. The town was set on fire in all parts, and about sixty sail of boats and dows, with the Minerva, a ship which they had taken from the English, then lying in the roads, were all burnt and destroyed.

The complete conquest of the place was thus effected with very trifling loss on the part of the besiegers, and some plunder

collected; though it was thought that most of the treasure and valuables which they possessed had been removed into the interior on the first news of their enemies approach. A journal of the second-mate of the Minerva, up to the day before the siege, was said to have been found, but he himself was not heard of; so that he was conjectured to have been killed on the first hostile steps of his countrymen.

This career of victory was, however, suddenly damped by the report of the approach of a large body of troops from the interior, and though none of these were seen, this ideal reinforcement seemed to have struck a panic on the leaders of the invading party. A general order was issued for the plunder to cease, and the troops were instantly recalled and reimbarked. This they did with some precipitation, and were fired at during their retreat by the yet unsubdued inhabitants, who had rallied to bid a second defiance, or to claim a victory over those who had thus hastily withdrawn.

The embarkation took place at daylight in the morning; and while the fleet remained at anchor during the whole of the day, parties were still seen assembling on the shore, displaying their colours, brandishing their swords and spears, and discharging their muskets from all points; so that the conquest was scarcely as complete as could be wished, since no formal act of submission had yet been shown. The officers of the expedition are themselves said to have regretted that their work was to be abandoned so prematurely; but whether the report of the reinforcements expected from the interior, or the temporizing and lukewarm instructions of the Bombay Government, guided the measures of the leaders in their retreat, is not accurately known.

From Ras-el-Khyma the expedition proceeded to Linga, a small port of the Joassamees, on the opposite side of the Gulf, on the Persian coast, and a little to the eastward of the eastern end of the Island of Kishma. From this place the inhabitants fled into the mountains on the approach of the vessels, taking all

their moveables with them. The town was, therefore, taken possession of without resistance, and burned to the ground, and such boats as were found there were also destroyed.

The force had now become separated, the greater portion of the troops being sent to Muscat for supplies, or being deemed unnecessary, and some of the vessels sent on separate services of blockading passages, &c. The remaining portion of the expedition, consisting of La Chiffone frigate, and four of the cruisers, the Mornington, Ternate, Nautilus, and Fury, and two transports, with about five hundred troops, chiefly British, proceeded from Linga to Luft, another port of the Joassamees, on the northern side of the Island of Kishma. As the channel here was narrow and difficult of approach, the ships were warped into their stations of anchorage, and a summons was sent on shore, as the people had not here abandoned their town, but were found at their posts of defence, in a large and strong castle, with many batteries, redoubts, &c. well defended by nature and strengthened by art. The summons being treated with disdain, the troops were landed with Colonel Smith at their head; and while forming on the beach, a slight skirmish took place with such of the inhabitants as fled for shelter to the castle. The troops then advanced towards the fortress, which is described to have had walls fourteen feet thick, pierced with loop-holes, and only one entrance through a small gate, well cased with iron bars and bolts, in the strongest manner. With a howitzer, taken for the occasion, it was intended to have blown this gate open, and to have taken the place by storm; but on reaching it, while the ranks opened, and the men sought to surround the castle to seek for some other entrance at the same time, they were picked off so rapidly and unexpectedly from the loop-holes above, that a general flight took place, the howitzer was abandoned, even before it had been fired, and both the officers and the troops sought shelter by lying down behind the ridges of sand and little hillocks immediately underneath the castle walls.

An Irish officer, jumping up from his hiding-place, and calling on some of his comrades to follow him in an attempt to rescue the howitzer, was killed in the enterprise. Such others as even raised their heads to look around them, were picked off by the musketry from above; and the whole of the troops lay therefore hidden in this way, until the darkness of the night favoured their escape to the beach, where they embarked after sun-set, the enemy having made no sally on them from the fort. A message was then conveyed by some means to the chief in the castle, giving him a second summons to submit, and fixing on two hours after midnight for the period of evacuation, which if not complied with, the ships, it was threatened, would bombard the castle from a nearer anchorage, and no quarter be afterwards shown. With the dawn of morning, all eyes were directed to the fortress, when, to the surprise of the whole squadron, a man was seen waving the British Union flag on the summit of its walls. Lieutenant Hall, who had commanded the Stromboli bomb vessel at the time of her sinking, and was saved by swimming, now commanded the Fury, which was one of the vessels nearest to the shore. During the night he had gone on shore alone, taking an union-jack in his hand, and advanced singly to the castle-gate. The fortress had already been abandoned by the greater number of the inhabitants, but some few still remained there. These, however, fled at the approach of an individual, either from deeming all further resistance unavailing, or from supposing, probably, that no one would come singly, but as a herald to others immediately following for his support. Be this as it may, the castle was entirely abandoned, and the British flag waved on its walls by this daring officer, to the surprise and admiration of all the fleet. The town and fortifications were then taken possession of; and as this was a settlement which had been taken by the Joassamees from the Imaum of Muscat, it was delivered over, with all that it contained, to such of the Imaum's people as accompanied the expedition in their boats.

From Luft the forces proceeded to Magoo, a small port to the eastward, on the Persian shore, between Cape Certes and Cape Bestion, and from thence to Shargey, Geziret-el-Hammara, and Rumms, three small towns on the opposite coast, near to Ras-el-Khyma, where nothing was effected but the destruction of such boats as were found at each of them; this being the extent of the orders of the Bombay Government, as it would seem, to the leaders of the expedition.

When the bottom of the Gulf had been thus swept round, the expedition returned to Muscat, where they rejoined the detached forces under the Caroline frigate, and remained some days at this rendezvous to refresh and repose.

On the sailing of the fleet from hence, the forces were augmented by a body of troops belonging to the Imaum, destined to assist in the recovery of a place called Shenaz, on the coast, about midway between Muscat and Cape Mussunndom, taken from him by the Joassamees. On their arrival at this place, a summons was sent, commanding the fort to surrender, which being refused, a bombardment was opened from the ships and boats, but without producing much effect. On the following morning, the whole of the troops were landed, and a regular encampment formed on the shore, with sand-batteries, and other necessary works for a siege. After several days bombardment, in which about four thousand shot and shells were discharged against the fortress, to which the people had all fled for refuge after burning down their own town, a breach was reported to be practicable, and the castle was accordingly stormed. The resistance made was still desperate; the Arabs fighting as long as they could wield the sword, and even thrusting their spears up through the fragments of towers, in whose ruins they remained irrecoverably buried. The loss in killed and wounded among them was thought to be upwards of a thousand men.

The fort of Shenaz was then delivered up to the troops of the Imaum of Muscat; but this being a place which afforded no shelter

to boats, none were found here. The object of the expedition was now thought to be sufficiently effected, and the troops and transports were sent from hence to Bombay, though the frigates and the cruisers again repaired to the Gulf, where they remained for several months before they finally dispersed.

Notwithstanding that the object of this expedition against the Joassamees might be said to be incomplete, inasmuch as nothing less than a *total* extirpation of their race could secure the tranquillity of these seas, yet the effect produced by this expedition was such, as to make them reverence or dread the British flag for several years afterwards.

Not long after the termination of this expedition against the Joassamees, a messenger was deputed by them to settle some disputed affair, and to conclude a treaty with the English, through Mr. Bruce, their agent at Bushire. This was effected on terms which promised a perpetual respect to the British flag, and was closed with all the professions of mutual and eternal friendship which characterize treaties of a higher order among European as well as Asiatic nations ; where, as in this, the friendship professed is neither felt nor meant, and where an intention always exists of breaking the eternal pledge of union the moment it is convenient and profitable so to do.

On the return of the Deputy to Ras-el-Khyma, he was asked by the chief and the heads of the people how he had succeeded in his mission. He replied, " admirably," under the full expectation of applause for his conduct in the negotiation, as he said he had now the satisfaction to assure them that he had made the Joassamees on a perfect footing of equality with the English themselves, and that in all their relations to each other they were henceforth to be considered on a level. Some fanatic hearer of the assembly, giving an interpretation to this assertion, which was seemingly not meant by the maker of it, insisted that the faithful followers of the Prophet, and the only remnant of the worshippers of the true God left on the earth, had been dishonoured by such

an association as that of an equality with infidels and strangers to the Word, and that the promulgator of such disgrace ought therefore to receive the punishment due to his crime. The spark once kindled, the flame of holy pride soon blazed more ardently, and, quickened by zeal, raged at length with ungovernable fury in every breast. The obnoxious ambassador was first disgraced and rendered contemptible, by having his beard plucked out by the roots, and his face smeared with human excrement; when, in this state, he was placed on an ass, with his face towards its tail, and thus driven by the women and children round the town, as an object of derision to all beholders.*

Several minor incidents of ambiguous interpretation gradually

* When the messengers of David were sent from Jerusalem unto Hanun, the King of the Ammonites, at his capital beyond the Jordan, to offer him condolence for the loss of his father Nahash, these were suspected by the Ammonitish courtiers to be spies; on which occasion, the punishment inflicted on them was that of having one-half of their beards shaved off, and their garments "docked even to their buttocks," as the Scripture phrase is, when they were sent away. This loss of the beard was thought to be of so much importance, that David, when he heard of it, sent to meet them, because the men were greatly ashamed; and the King said, "Tarry at Jericho until your beards be grown, and then return."—2 Sam. c. x. verse 1—6.

It was one of the most infamous punishments of cowardice in Sparta, to cause those who turned their backs in the day of battle, to appear abroad with one-half of their beards shaved, and the other half unshaved.—*Burder's Illustrations*, vol. i. p. 72.

D'Arvieux mentions an instance of an Arab, who, having received a wound in his jaw, chose to hazard his life rather than suffer his beard to be taken off to facilitate the cure.—*Ibid.*

These instances show the antiquity of the punishment, and the degree of disgrace which it is supposed to imply. Though these refer to *shaving*, cases are mentioned of *plucking* off the hair, which must have been equally infamous, and more painful. Nehemiah inflicted this punishment on certain Jews, who, as he says, had married wives of Ashdod, of Ammon, and of Moab, and like Solomon, the beloved of God, and unequalled among the kings of the earth, had been led by these outlandish women into sin.—*Nehemiah*, c. xiii. v. 25, 26.

As a refinement of this cruelty, they sometimes put hot ashes on the skin, after they had torn off the hair, to make the pain more exquisite. Thus they served adulterers at Athens, as is observed by the Scholiast on Aristophanes in Nubibus. This kind of punishment was common in Persia. King Artaxerxes, says Plutarch in his Apothegms, instead of *plucking* off the hair of such of his generals as had been guilty of a fault, obliged them to lay aside the tiara. The Emperor Domitian caused the hair and beard of the philosopher Apollonius to be shaved. —*Philostratus*, lib. iii. c. 24.

occurred, to excite a suspicion of the growing pride and power of the Joassamee pirates; and some disputes had taken place between their boats and the cruisers of the Bombay Marine, as to the legality of their capturing Arab vessels under their convoy. A case at length appeared, which left no further doubt of their renewed hostile intentions, and of their desire of revenge having kept pace with their growing strength. In 1815, their boats began to infest the entrance to the Red Sea; and in 1816, their numbers had so encreased on that coast, that a squadron of them, commanded by one of their chiefs, called Ameer Ibrahim, captured, within sight of Mocha, four vessels, bound from Surat to that port, richly laden, navigating under the British flag, sailing under British passports, and being subject to British laws. The crews of these were massacred, according to their usual custom, and only a few individuals escaped to tell their story.

Some months had indeed elapsed before the details of this affair were accurately known; but on their becoming so, a squadron was assembled at Bombay, consisting of his Majesty's sloop Challenger, of eighteen guns, and the East India Company's cruisers, Mercury, of fourteen guns, and Vestal, of twelve guns, to sail to the Persian Gulf. By these, a dispatch was forwarded to Mr. Bruce, the Resident at Bushire, instructing him to remonstrate with, and to make certain demands from the chief at Ras-el-Khyma. The squadron left Bombay in the early part of September, and after a long and disastrous voyage, in which the Mercury lost her mainmast at sea, the Challenger reached Bushire in November, and the other vessels in a few days afterwards. In the mean time, the Ariel, which had touched here on her way down from Bussorah, had been dispatched to Ras-el-Khyma with a first letter from Mr. Bruce, enquiring into the circumstances of the capture alluded to, and reproaching them with a breach of faith in their departure from the terms of the treaty made by them to the British flag. The answer returned to this by the Ariel was, first, a flat denial of the capture of any vessels of any description

in the Red Sea about the time specified; and next, a declaration of total ignorance of the fact assumed regarding the ships from Surat. This denial was followed up with the remark, that even if they had captured the vessels in question, they would have strictly observed the terms of their treaty, which were to keep peace with, and respect the property of the English, by which they meant those of the "sect of Jesus" only; never once renouncing their right to destroy all idolatrous Indians, and to extirpate from the face of the earth all the worshippers of false gods.

This was just the state of things at the present moment; and it was therefore determined that Mr. Bruce and Mr. Taylor, with their writers and interpreters, should go down to Ras-el-Khyma to make the formal requisitions ordered by the Government; and the whole of the squadron were to proceed together, to give respectability and influence to the mission. The terms of the requisition pointed out by the Government were these:—To demand a restitution of the Surat vessels and their cargoes, or the amount of their value in money, which was fixed at twelve lacks of rupees; to deliver up Ameer Ibrahim, the commander of the Joassamee squadron at the time of the capture, for punishment; and to place two persons of distinction in the hands of the British, as hostages for their future good behaviour. In the event of complying with these terms, the past, it was understood, would be at least pardoned, if not forgotten; and, with the same mistaken lenity, it was simply said, that if the terms were rejected, the squadron, on leaving the port, were to signify to the chief, that he might expect the displeasure of the British Government to be visited on his contempt of their flag.

CHAPTER XXIV.

VOYAGE FROM BUSHIRE DOWN THE PERSIAN GULF.—RUINS OF ORMUZ.

Nov. 18th.—It was on the morning of the 18th of November that we all embarked on board the Mercury, when the squadron made sail from the inner roads of Bushire, with a light north-east air; but it falling calm, we brought up again in the outer roads, where we remained at anchor during the remainder of the day, and weighed again after sunset, as the land breeze sprung up.

Nov. 19th.—The wind still continued light, but the weather was most agreeable, and our occupations such as were favourable both to health and pleasure, as the most perfect unanimity prevailed throughout our crowded party. Our place at noon was

in lat. 28° 24′ north, and long. 50° 40′ east, with the distant mountains of the Persian coast in sight, and our depth of water twenty-seven fathoms.

In the afternoon we witnessed an eclipse of the sun, in which more than three-fourths of its disk were darkened, and the effect during a perfect calm was singularly impressive. The appearance was that of a bright moonlight; but though the sky was quite cloudless, no stars were to be seen, and the universal stillness that reigned around gave something of awfulness to the scene. At sun-set we had Cape Berdistan on the Persian shore, erroneously called Cape Kenn in Arrowsmith's chart, bearing south-east by east, several leagues distant, and were still in twenty-seven fathoms water.

Between Bushire and Cape Berdistan lies Khore Zeana, which, from its relative position between these projecting points, corresponds accurately enough with the Hieratis of Arrian, which is placed seven hundred and fifty stadia from Sitakus, and where, the historian says, 'Nearchus anchored in a cut which is derived from the river to the sea, and is called Hartimis.'* It would be deemed presumptuous to say that no such place as Gilla exists hereabouts; though, from its being fixed on as the site of this anchorage of the Macedonian fleet, I had been careful in my enquiries after it, and had yet met with no one who knew a place of such a name. The names of Kierazin, Zezane, &c. as derivations from Kauzeroon, were all equally unknown to the pilots and fishermen, whom we consulted; and made me almost regret that so much etymological criticism had been exercised on a nonentity, for the sake of reconciling only seeming differences of name. Zeara, which is the name of the creek, is quite as near to Hieratis as Gilla, and needs no torturing to make it appear so. It is the same which is called Khore-Esseri by Niebuhr; though not, as Dr. Vincent thought, the Koucher of Thevenot,—that being, I think, more likely to correspond with the Khueer above, as want-

* Voyage of Nearchus, c. 39.

ing only the German pronunciation of the *ch*, to make it the same name. Sir Harford Jones's conjecture that Khore-Esseri means Khore-el-Zigeer, or the Little Khôre, is another unhappy attempt to display an acquaintance with Arabic etymology. Such labour would have been better applied in correcting the orthography of the stations between Hilleh and Bagdad, given in another part of the work; where there are names whose import could not have been understood, and a sight of which is sufficient to destroy all the writer's credit as an Orientalist. Dr. Vincent displayed more judgment in observing that Khore-Esseri was literally the channel of Esseri; though, he adds, that Esser doubtless has a relative sense. Zeara is the pronunciation of the pilots, and this is near enough to Esseri to suppose it to be the same; but I could learn no relative meaning that this possessed.

Tangeseer may possibly be the town called Gilla in the English charts, and thought to derive its name from Halilah. This appellation is given by the people of the country to the range of hills lying at the back of the plain on the sea-shore here, and going nearly north and south from just above Berdistan to below Bushire. The high peaked hill, called Halilah by us, is known to the pilots by the name of Koormoutche, and immediately follows the northern extreme of the Halilah range.

The Khore Khueer which remains, is close to the foot of the peninsula of Bushire, and is small, and seldom frequented, from its vicinity to this port. This may perhaps be the Koucher of Thevenot, which is however doubtful; but it is certainly not the Padargus of Arrian, the next station of Nearchus beyond Hieratis; for the historian expressly says:—'In this passage they had followed the winding of the coast round a peninsula, (on which they saw plantations and gardens, with all kinds of fruit-trees,) and anchored at a place called Mesambria.'* This, therefore, could be only descriptive of the peninsula of Bushire, to the northward of which this station is to be sought for.

Nov. 20th.—The night had been dark and heavy, and just be-

* Voyage of Nearchus, c. 39.

fore daylight a tremendous squall, accompanied with thunder, lightning, and rain, burst upon us from the north-west, and blew for some time with irresistible fury. The ships of the squadron were reduced to the topsails on the cap, and yet felt the fury of the blast, though flying right before it. When it broke at sunrise, the wind settled into a steady breeze from the north-east, and the violence of the change in the weather was considered as an effect of the eclipse of the preceding day. In the course of the morning two ships passed us in-shore, on their way to Bushire; but though the Vestal chased them and displayed signals, no communication could be effected.

At noon, the ship's place was in latitude 27°. 30′. north, and longitude 50°. 50′. east, with the Hummocks of Khan, north-east half north, in thirty-five fathoms, the winds light and variable through the afternoon, and our water gradually deepening to thirty-nine fathoms at midnight.

The low woody land beneath the mountains of Khan, in sight of which we now were, is called by the natives Umm-el-Goorm, which last word was interpreted by the Indian name of jungle, meaning, a thick brush-wood, or what would be called in England, a wilderness, and in America, 'uncleared land.' We were assured also, that near this Umm-el-Goorm, at the foot of the mountains of Khan, was a small khore or creek for boats, retaining the name of the place itself, though the people knew of no town existing there now, or of any ruins of an old one.

This creek corresponds accurately enough with the Sitakus of Arrian, who might easily have given the name of a river to an arm of salt water, long and narrow, and affording shelter to vessels; as in India, among our own countrymen even at the present hour, the arm of the sea which separates Salsette from the Mahratta territory, is called the Bassein and Tannah river, though it is connected both at its entrance and exit, or source and mouth, (if it may be so said,) with the ocean. As no town is mentioned by the historian, no one is to be sought for now; but there is great probability that the broad valley which we saw going up from the sea-

side into the interior, is one of the passes leading through the mountains to Firouzabad.

This city lay at the distance of a degree and a half only from the coast at Berdistan; and as Nearchus, during his stay here of twenty-one days, to refit, received supplies of corn, which were sent down to him by Alexander, it has been conjectured, with great probability, that the division of the Macedonian army under Hephestion, was halting here at Firouzabad, while Alexander was yet to the eastward beyond the mountains, and that it was from the stores of Hephestion's division that the supplies came. It has been thought that a river called Sita Reghian descended from hence to the sea, and the name of Sitakus was conceived to be perceptible in this; but all my enquiries after such a stream led to no confirmation of its existence. It is certain that there was water in the neighbourhood of Firouzabad; but even this seems to have been artificially conducted hither from the mountains, and to have been afterwards exhausted in cultivation before it reached the sea.

In some loose extracts and notes now before me, and made for my journey through Persia, I find the following confirmations of this fact. "During the reign of Firouz, there was a great famine, in which, however, from his precautions, only one subject died of hunger at Arderschir." This city, says De Sacy, in a note on the passage above, from Mirkhond, is no doubt the same that the Persian geographer calls Arderschir Khoureh, and which was afterwards called Firouzabad. It is placed by Eastern writers in the third climate, and one of the most remarkable objects it contained was, according to them, a lofty edifice in the centre, for a pure air, which building was called Ivan. Around the place was a large platform, and water was conducted there from the mountains. When Alexander conquered Persia, he could not master this place, say they, from the difficulty of getting at it; but turning the waters of the brook Khanikan from their course, he laid the edifice under water, and made the whole town a lake. Ardeschir

employed an artist to drain the place, who dug a subterraneous canal, and when he opened it, was himself chained round the middle for safety, but was borne away by the strength of the current. The passage itself then fell into ruins. Ardeschir subsequently built on the same place the city of Ardeschir Khoureh, which was afterwards repaired by Adhad-el-Dowla, a Dilemite prince, who called it Firouzabad. Here the same writers assure us that all the water which was used for drinking was procured from the brook of Khanikan, since called Beraveh, or Bezazeh, and that the air of the place was bad and corrupt.

Notwithstanding these defects, however, this capital of the district of Ardeschir was celebrated, as Dr. Vincent observes, for its gardens, its vineyards, and its roses, as pre-eminent in Persia, as those of Pæstum in Italy; and Eastern geographers, while they praise the inhabitants as being a sensible and honest race, do not omit to mention, that there was finer rose-water made here than in any part of the other provinces of the kingdom.*

The ruins of this city are still very considerable, according to the reports given by a native of Fasa to Mr. Morier, and by him, the Atesh Gau, or chief fire-temple of the Guebres, is placed in a cave at Firouzabad. Col. Kinnier, however, who seems to speak from personal observation, makes the Atesh Kudda, or fire-temple of Firoze Shah, to be a building with three *immense* domes, and three small apartments before and behind, arched with small rough stones, and cemented with lime. This, I should think, was much more likely to be the remains of the lofty edifice of Ivan, which was reared in the centre of the city for catching a pure air; and the style of a building with three immense domes would be more suited to such a purpose than to a fire-temple.

I remember a similar error of Captain Lockett, who is said to have pronounced the Birs, or Tower of Belus at Babylon, to have been a fire-temple also. It is well known, however, that caves and elevated places, on the tops of mountains, were frequently chosen by the fire-worshippers for their devotions; and

* De Sacy, Mémoires, p. 346.

all the fire-temples that I have seen throughout Persia, which were unequivocally the remains of early ages, were mere altars in the open air, fitted for retaining fire on their summits; and some of them, particularly those at Naksh-e-Rustan, near Persepolis, not more than two or three feet square, and others near Ispahan, but very little larger. Captain Maude of the navy, who saw both the Tower of Belus and this edifice at Firouzabad, assured Mr. Williams, his companion, that they resembled each other both in size, form, and materials; but if so, it could not be this building, with three immense domes; nor the square edifice mentioned by Kinnier, as differing in form and style from any around it, and built of hewn stone, linked together with clamps of iron; nor the stone pillar, one hundred and fifty feet in height, and twenty in diameter at the base; which are said by this writer to be the only antiquities worthy of remark in the plain of Firouzabad, and which have certainly no resemblance to any of the remains at Babylon.

What is more to the present purpose, however, and what must draw us back from this excursion from the shore, is that in describing the modern town of Firouzabad as an inconsiderable place, the same author says, that the water of the river which flows through the plain here, is absorbed in the cultivation of the land. We must resort, therefore, to the former supposition, that if no fresh stream descended to the sea in the time of Alexander any more than now, the inlet of the Khore of Umm-el-Goorm was characterised by his admiral as a river, as narrow creeks of the sea are even now frequently called rivers by the most experienced and scientific sailors and hydrographers of the present day.

Nov. 21st.—The winds still continued light and variable, though chiefly from the eastern quarter, and our progress was accordingly slow. We had seen few fish, and no weeds in the course of our voyage, but great varieties of the substance called by sailors blubber, and a number of sea-snakes, ringed black and

white, and varying from one to four feet in length, and from one to four inches in circumference. These swim on the surface of the water, sometimes coil themselves in circles, and seem to have the same wavy motion which distinguishes the progress of snakes on shore. Their food is probably small flies or animalculæ found near the surface, as these are generally seen there, though they sometimes plunge below, at the approach of supposed danger. In doing this, it is said that they rear their heads high out of the water, as if to effect some change in the state of the lungs, and dive down head-foremost in nearly a perpendicular line. These sea-serpents differ in their appearance from those seen on the approach to Bombay, as the latter are of a yellowish colour, but the former are ringed black and white. Both of these, however, live only within soundings, or where the depth of water is less than one hundred fathoms, so that their habits must sometimes lead them to the ground; and the bite of both is said to be poisonous. In cases of irritation, those of Bombay have been known to bite fishermen, who threw them from their nets, and who afterwards died of the wound; and in an experiment made on a fowl by the bite of a small serpent found in the Persian Gulf, the bird died in less than fifteen minutes.*

At noon we were in lat. 27° 11′ north, and long. 51° 15′ east, with a remarkable piece of table land on the Persian shore, called Barn Hill, bearing north-east, half-north; and a notch in the high land over Astola, bearing east-by-north, half-north, in thirty-five fathoms water. Just below the port of Kangoon, which is immediately under this Barn Hill, is a port called Tauhree, or Tahiree, where extensive ruins are spoken of, with sculptures and inscrip-

* The prognostic of approaching the river Indus, is the appearance of snakes rising up from the bottom, and floating on the surface; and a similar occurrence of a reptile called Grace is noticed on the coast of Persis.—*Perip. Eryth. Sea. India*, vol. i. p. 95.

The approach to the bay of Barāké, (or the Gulf of Cutch) is discoverable by the appearance of snakes, very large and black. The same occurrence takes place also along the coast of Guzerat, and at Barugaza, (or Baroache); but the snakes there are smaller, paler, and of a colour approaching to gold.—*Ibid.* p. 97.

tions in the Persepolitan character. Among the ruins of the city are said to be two exceedingly deep wells, and stables sufficient to contain a hundred horses, excavated from the solid rock.

The weather continued light, and the winds variable from the eastward; our progress still slow, and our water deepening gradually to forty fathoms at midnight.

It is in this bay that Kangoon is situated; and both the name, the relative position, and the local features of the place, as far as we could collect them from the information of those whom we consulted, all agree accurately with those of Gogana, one of the stations at which the fleet of Nearchus anchored, and placed by Arrian at the mouth of a winter torrent called Areon. "The place," he says, "was not without inhabitants, but the anchorage unsafe, on account of the shoals and breakers which appeared on the ebb of the tide, and the approach was narrow and dangerous."* A winter brook is not, however, to be found always in the same spot at any distance of time; and, accordingly, we could learn nothing of a stream now existing at Kangoon, sufficiently large to deserve notice; although, as the natives said, whenever it rained hard at this place, the rain formed torrents, as it did every where else in the world; and they wondered that we should enquire after this as a singularity, or peculiar to Kangoon alone, for so they understood the drift of our enquiries. We subsequently learnt that there was a stream of fresh water which descended from the mountains above Kangoon; but it was added, that this did not discharge itself into the sea, being exhausted among the date-grounds before it reached the shore. On this stream, at about two hours from the town, a water-mill once stood, at which the people of the country had their corn ground; and a well is mentioned, not far off, having thirty-three yards of water in it, and sending up a bubbling spring above its brink in certain seasons of the year. In the time of Alexander, therefore, a winter torrent may easily be supposed to have discharged itself into the

* Arrian's Voyage of Nearchus, 38.

sea at Gogana. The character of the anchorage, as having shoals and breakers near it, which showed themselves on the ebb-tide, is still, however, characteristic of the place; and the approach, if made near to them, is still narrow and dangerous. But those very shoals and breakers, which were objects of terror to a Greek fleet, are the cause of the secure anchorage afforded by them to vessels navigated after the improved method of the moderns; as ships anchoring in deep water, at a sufficient distance from them to swing clear, in case of a change of wind, find a smooth sea, and all the safety of a more confined harbour.

The small island of Monjella, as it is called in the English charts, lies from four to five leagues south-south-west of the point called Ras Berdistan by the natives, and the nearest part of the main land bears from it east-north-east about a league and a half. This island is called Umm-el-Nakheela, or 'the mother of palm trees;' from أم 'a mother, the root, or primary cause;' and نخل, 'the palm or date tree.'

This is literally the same as the Palmeira of the Portuguese; and it is highly probable that, in giving this name to it, they meant it to be a translation of the native one, which they found characteristic of the spot to which it was affixed. It is also the same as the Om-en-chále of Niebuhr, though he makes it a place on the continent, and not an island. The difference in sound between these names is not so great as in their orthography; but the manner of writing the last, proves decidedly that Mr. Niebuhr was not aware of the derivation of the name; and his placing it on the continent is equally a proof that his information was from report; for, if he had passed near to it, he would have seen an island as large as Shitwar, covered with date trees, and thus explaining the etymology of its name.

There is said to be no fresh water on the spot, and consequently no inhabitants; and this island, with two smaller nameless ones to the westward of it, is seated amidst shoals and broken ground on every side. There is nevertheless a passage for native

coasting-boats between these islands and the Persian shore, which is only sailed through in the day, on account of the dangers there; but is constantly frequented, inasmuch as it saves a considerable distance to those going up or down the coast along shore, in cutting off the great circuit that must otherwise be made, to go clear without the shoals to the westward. This last piece of information I received the most positive assurances of, and indeed it was subsequently confirmed to me by a person who had sailed through it, and whose description of the island and channel agreed exactly with the testimony of the others. Nearchus, therefore, might easily have taken his fleet through this passage, as none of his vessels probably drew more water than the common coasting-boats of the present day.

It was highly satisfactory to ascertain this fact, as one of the chief difficulties to render intelligible in the relation of this voyage by Arrian, lay here on this part of the coast. The distance sailed from Gogana to the mouth of the river Sitakus was eight hundred stadia, or about fifty miles, and the run was not made without danger. On this passage Dr. Vincent remarks, that the coast itself measures that distance, without allowing for the circle that must be taken to round the shoal off Cape Verdistan. It is not probable, he adds, that an English vessel should ever determine whether there is a passage within the breakers; but within, undoubtedly, Nearchus must have sailed, to make the stadia agree; and though M'Cluer makes an anchorage almost in the centre of them, a passage close to shore must be dubious, unless it could be proved that it is still practicable for native vessels. If there is a passage, he concludes, the measure of Arrian is correct; if there is no passage, it is the first on this coast which has been deficient.*

It is a pleasure to remove the difficulties and reconcile the seeming inconsistencies of early writers in any way, but especially so in cases where it serves to establish the fidelity of an ancient and curious journal like the present, relating to one of the most in-

* Dissertations, Persis, p. 285.

teresting voyages ever performed, considering the time, the circumstances, its motive, and its end; and thus to remove the charge of falsehood and invention, which some angry but injudicious critics have laid to the whole history of it. It has happened, indeed, in more instances than the present, that the new lights thrown on geography and history by modern discoveries, have tended to illustrate and confirm the writings of the ancients, more particularly of those who treated of countries east of Greece; as every one who has followed Herodotus, Strabo, Arrian, and the author of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, as travelling guides over the countries and shores which they describe, must have had abundant opportunities of observing.

A passage within the shoals of Berdistan does then, as we have seen, still exist, and is frequented at the present day: the distance given by Arrian for Nearchus's run through this passage is correct; and nothing can be more satisfactory proof of his having gone this way, than the details which he gives of the run throughout. The whole navigation along this part of the coast of Persia is, he says, among shoals and breakers; but, he adds, they (the Greeks and Macedonians) secured themselves in their present station by drawing their ships on shore, in order to careen and refit such of them as had been injured during the voyage.*

Nov. 22nd.—Light, variable airs, and agreeable weather, but unfavourable to our progress. The ship's place at noon was in lat. 26° 49′ north, and long. 51° 35′ east, with Barn Hill, north-north-east, and the notch over Astola north-east half-east, in thirty-eight fathoms.

The evening brought us fresh breezes from the north-west, to which we crowded all sail, though our situation required much caution in the course, the soundings, and the look-out. We here passed over the site of the Crescent, which, with the Scorpion, forms the two banks, called the Pearl-shoals of his Majesty's sloop Scorpion, 1807, as laid down in Arrowsmith's chart of 1810, and

* Voyage, Persis, 381.

noted in Horsburgh's Directory of 1809, in the body of the work, as discovered by the ship Pearl in 1796. Each of these shoals appears to occupy a considerable space; and they are said to be dry in several parts, though they have a passage between them of twenty to twenty-five fathoms depth. Among the longitudes of the squadron, which were all by chronometer, our own was the westernmost by a few miles, and fresh departures had been taken from the meridian of Bushire, as in long. 50° 44′ east; yet these shoals were evidently without us, or to the westward of our reckoning, and therefore probably to the southward and westward of the position assigned to them in the books and charts.

Nov. 23rd.—At sun-rise we were off a remarkable mountain on the Persian shore, which forms a sea-mark for the navigation of the Gulf, under the name of Charrack Hill. Beneath it is a small port, of the same name, belonging to the Joassamees, and affording shelter to their piratical boats. This town was once possessed by the Danes; and there is still a race of their descendants there, with light hair and blue eyes; but in all their habits and language they resemble the aborigines of the country. The high land of Charrack seems to be the Mount Ochus of the ancients; and it is from every point of view a remarkably conspicuous object. Opposite to this point of Charrack is the small island of Kenn, or Kym of Horsburgh, about ten miles from the shore. It is low, and more thickly wooded than any of the islands in the Gulf, and is fruitful and well inhabited.* Supplies of provisions and water may be obtained here, as well as shelter found under its lee from the north-west gales, in a good anchorage of nine fathoms, abreast the village, at its eastern end. As this island is low, it is not to be

* Ammianus Marcellinus says, that the southern part of Persia, bordering on the Gulf, abounds in palm-trees, in fruits, and in streams, which render it agreeable. He observes also, that there are many considerable cities in the interior, or higher regions of the country, and that no towns of note existed on the sea-coast. The reason of this was not understood by him; but it was undoubtedly because the climate of the coast was less agreeable than that of the elevated parts of the interior, and because they had no maritime wars or maritime commerce to render sea-ports necessary.—Lib. xxiii. c. 6.

distinguished more than four leagues off; but Charrack Hill, on a bearing of north-north-east, is a good mark for running right upon it. When this hill at sun-rise bore east by north half-north, we had the notch over Astola, bearing north by west, and were then in forty fathoms water.

At noon the ship's place was in lat. 26° 19′ north, and long. 26° 55′ east, the weather dark and cloudy, Charrack Hill north-east by east half-east, and soundings forty fathoms. In the afternoon we had a light breeze from the north-west, which fell off at sun-set, and the atmosphere was then so heavy that no land could be seen. Our water deepened to forty-five fathoms at midnight.

Ras Nabend, which is nearly opposite to this, is conceived to be the place of the river Bagrada, of Ptolemy, which he makes the boundary of Karmania, differing in this from Arrian, whose limit, as we have seen, was opposite to Kaeese, and formed by the range of hills ending at the sea, in the mountain of Charrack. The name of the river Bagrada, in Africa, is derived by Bochart from ברכתא Barkatha, a pond, in the Hebrew;* and Dr. Vincent says, that the characteristics of the Nabend in Persia, would suit such a derivation very well. I could learn no other features of this stream than that it was large, deep, and capacious; nor were our informers able to say whether it had any name resembling the supposed ancient one, either in sound or in signification. The word برکه Burkah, which is evidently allied to the Hebrew Barkatha, signifies the same thing both in Persian and Arabic, though it belongs originally to the latter. Dr. Vincent did not seem aware of this; for, in a note on a place called by Colonel Capper, Birket Rahamah, he asks, 'What is Birket? Birk, is a well:' and adds, 'If the traveller had given us this, we might have judged whether it is yet a lake or dry.' He then proposes a query, 'Whether it is not an error of the press for Bahr-el-Rahma, the sea of Rahama, or Birk-el-Rahama, like Birk-el-Hadji, in Egypt, the lake of the Pilgrims, i. e. where they assemble for the pil-

* Shaw's Travels in Barbary, p. 77.

grimage.'* The fact is, that Bir, and not Birk, is the common Arabic name for a well; and Birket, the usual term for a lake, as in the Birket-el-Hadj, or the Lake of the Pilgrimage; for that is precisely the way in which it is pronounced in Egypt, where this lake is situated, and where it derives its name from the Hadj, or assemblage of pilgrims, who depart yearly from this spot for Mecca, halting here to fill their water, and to wait for the Emir-el-Hadj, or Prince of the Pilgrimage, who generally leaves Cairo the day before they set out.

Nov 24.—At sun-rise, the weather being clearer, and the wind moderate, with a land breeze from the north-east, we saw Charrack Hill again, bearing north by east half-east, and were then in forty-two fathoms water.

I sought and enquired in vain after the Siraff, which is thought to have been seated at the foot of Charrack, and opposite to Kaeese; and which is noticed by Edrisi as a seat of commerce in his time, and connected with Kaeese, as Gomberoon was afterwards with Ormuz. Dr. Vincent proves, from the relation of a voyage of two Arabians, that in the ninth century Siraff was a port of importance; for it seems in that early age to have been in the possession of the Arabians, and the centre of an Oriental commerce, which perhaps extended to China. He adds, that both Siraff, which was conquered by Shah Kodbadin, king of Ormuz, about the year 1320; and Siraff, whose decline is mentioned by Alfragani, in his time, yielded its consequence to Ormuz, which was a celebrated mart long before the Portuguese were masters of that island; and he inclines to think, though Siraff is said by D'Anville to be now in ruins, that both the name and the site are to be identified with the Charrack of the coast. As Siraff was said to have been opposite to Kaeese, there was a difficulty in reconciling it to the position of Charrack, as given by M'Cluer, since this was to the eastward of his Cape Bestion, and rather opposite to Polior, or Froor.

* Sequel to the Voyage of Nearchus, p. 513.

Dr. Vincent was right in suspecting this arrangement, and in calling in question the accuracy of M'Cluer, with regard to names; though he modestly expresses himself as not qualified to decide. The town of Charrack is, as he conceived it ought to be, to the westward of this Cape, and close to the eastern foot of the hill from which it derives, or to which it gives its name. This, it is true, is still to the eastward of Kaeese, but not so far as to prevent its being called, in a general way, 'opposite to the island.' The town of Tawooné is nearest to the island on the east, and Kallat-el-Abeed, so called from an old castle in the mountains above, in which some rebel slaves defended themselves, is the nearest to it on the west. Between this and Cheroo another town was named to us, called Goorezy; but this we did not clearly perceive. Among them all, however, a position might be selected for Siraff, which would accord accurately enough with its vicinity to Kaeese, if other circumstances indicated either its name or its remains there.

Heather, on the authority of M'Cluer, places the islands of Kaeese and Hinderabia, at about fifteen miles distant from each other; but it appears that this navigator subsequently stated to Mr. Dalrymple, that he had altered the situation of Hinderabia, as he found it too near to Kenn; and actually extends the distance from twelve to twenty geographical miles, without stating what after-discovery had led to this correction. The illustrator of Nearchus's voyages very naturally congratulates himself on this alteration, since it corresponds more accurately with the twenty-five miles assigned to the distance between them by Arrian; and expresses great satisfaction in finding that the more correct the modern chart is, the better it corresponds with the details of his author. The alternative which D'Anville has chosen, however, of making the anchorage of the fleet at the eastern end of Kataia, so as to include the length of that island in the four hundred stadia of the run from Kataia to Ila, still remains: and if it be allowable to choose the most convenient end of one island for the point of departure; so it may equally be permitted to make the point

of arrival at either extreme of the other, so as to include its length too, if necessary; more particularly as Ila, the harbour mentioned, is only said to be sheltered by an island in the offing, called Kaika, without saying from what winds, or in what direction; so that if the distance were the only point to be adjusted, twenty out of the twenty-five miles might be unobjectionably made out, even at present.

The island of Hinderabia resembles that of Kaika in its general character, being low, level, and sandy at the base; but not so well wooded, although it has some single trees and shrubs, and, it is said, good water.

As the day advanced, the wind drew more easterly; and at noon, being in latitude 25° 49′ north, and longitude 53° 53′. east, Charrack Hill bearing north half-east, distant at least sixty miles, we saw the Arabian shore, bearing south-south-east, rather low, and distant about twenty miles from us, our soundings being then in forty fathoms.

Neither the names of Cape Bestion, nor Certes, under any of their variations of sound, are at all known to the natives of this coast. The eastern cape they call Ras-el-Shenaz, and the western cape, Ras-el-Hhasseeni, both from towns of that name near their respective extremes. In the bay between them are the towns of Boostana and Mogho; the first nearest to Ras-el-Shenaz, and the second nearest to Ras-el-Hhasseeni, and about equidistant from these capes, and from each other. To the eastward of Ras-el-Hhasseeni, are the towns of Charrack and Tawoone, which are described as similar to Shenaz, Linga, and Cheroo.

This cape of Hhasseeni corresponds very accurately in point of distance from Shenaz, to the Cape Tarsia of Arrian, at which Nearchus anchored, after a run of three hundred stadia, or about nineteen miles from Sididône, and before another run of the same distance to Kataia, or Kaeese. Dr. Vincent thought he could perceive this Tarsia of the Greeks in Niebuhr's modern name of Dsjerd, and refers the classical reader to the fluctuations in the

orthography of the name Tyrus, to satisfy him of its possibility. "The Phœnician word, he says, is Tsor, with the two initials T S. correspondent to Niebuhr's D S J; and Tsor becomes by the T. Τυρ-ος Tyrus; by the S. Sor, or Sar—the root of Sour, Souria, Συρία, Syria, and found in Virgil, 'Sarrano indormiat ostro;' where the Scholia write, 'a *Saro* murice.' By the same analogy, Tserd, Tarsia, Serd, Sertes,—Certes, Gherd, Sjerd."* After this, no one would surely despair of finding Tarseea, or Tarsia, in the present name Hhasseeni, which, from not being known before to be the real name of the cape, has had no learning or etymological skill exercised on it to see what it might produce.

The island of Kaeese, abreast of which we now were, is apparently of less dimensions than those usually given to it. Thevenot mentions it as about five leagues in circuit; and Horsburgh, from M'Cluer, states it to be as large as Polior: neither of which is correct. The extreme length of it appeared to us to be about four miles, and its general breadth about two, while Polior is at least double that size. Arrian, who, from Nearchus, describes it as a low desert island, gave its character much more faithfully than M'Cluer, who calls it a very beautiful one, and better planted with trees than any other in the Gulf. The expression of 'desert,' as used by Arrian, did not imply then, any more than it does now, a place totally incapable of producing any thing, but rather one destitute of verdure and natural fertility, though capable of supporting life, as the deserts of the Arabs do to tribes of thousands, with their still more numerous flocks, and of being made more productive by artificial means of cultivation. It is thus that, though Nearchus found it uninhabited, it was, he says, frequented by visitors from the continent, who annually brought goats here, and, consecrating them to Venus and Mercury, left them to run wild. The learned illustrator of this interesting voyage has very happily observed on this, that though the deities of the Persian or Arabian mythology here alluded to by these

* Note to the Dissertation, vol. i. p. 362.

Greek names, are not easy to be discovered, yet that the practice indicated the navigation of the Gulf in that age; and that if the gods were to protect the breed for a time, we might suppose it was ultimately intended for the use of man, upon the same principle that Juan Fernandez was stocked by the Spaniards in the South Seas. Nearchus, he continues, has not informed us whether he violated the asylum of these animals; but this appears the natural inducement for his leaving the coast to make this island, as he had obtained no supply either at Tumbo or Sididône; and we do not read that the sacrilege, if committed, was revenged by Mercury or Venus in so severe a manner as the companions of Ulysses were punished for feasting on the oxen of Apollo.*

If the size, the fertility, and the beauty of Kaeese, have been all exaggerated by the moderns, so has its distance from the continent been made too great. The charts and directories make the channel to be four leagues wide; and this is said in the same page to be the greatest distance at which it can be seen, from its being so low. It was necessary to assign a motive for Nearchus quitting the coast to go in search of it, and natural to find it in the one supposed, of seeking a supply from the consecrated herds and flocks of Aphrodisias, as Pliny calls this island from this circumstance of its devotions. But the channel hardly appeared to us to be as many miles as it is made leagues across, and certainly could not be passed without its very beach being distinctly seen from within. The main land here on the north is a lofty and abrupt mountain of greyish stone, whose surface is seemingly every where destitute of vegetation, and whose steep sides rise so suddenly from the sea, as to offer no temptation to approach them either for anchorage or refreshment. Nothing would be more natural, therefore, than for the Macedonian fleet to cross this narrow channel, which, supposing they sailed at a distance of only two miles from the continent, would not be a league over; and the appearance of trees and vegetation there,

* Dissertation, vol. i. p. 364.

would promise them better supplies of food and water than they could hope to obtain from the main coast.

This lofty and barren mountain is the Charrack of the charts, and is the sea-mark for approaching Kaeese; for, when this bears north-north-east, it has the island in one with it, which cannot then be distinguished from the main. The island is at present inhabited by about fifty families, and produces sufficient sustenance for them only; though ships may obtain good water there, according to the account of our visitors. Its modern name of Kaeese sufficiently corresponds with the ancient one of Kataia, and its position and local features can leave no doubt of their identity.

'At Kataia,' says Arrian, 'ends the province of Karmania, along the coast of which they had sailed three thousand seven hundred stadia.—The Karmanians,' he adds, 'resemble the Persians in their manner of living, their armour and military array are the same, and, as adjoining provinces, the customs and habits of both assimilate.'* The opinion of Dr. Vincent, that this boundary line is not an imaginary one, but to be sought for in the Hill of Charrack, is reasonable, and supported by the appearance of this being, as he conjectured, the termination of a range, running inland, and forming a natural boundary. The fact related by Arrian of the Karmanians resembling the Persians in their manner of living, is as true at the present period as then. The physiognomy of most of these that I had had an opportunity of seeing on other occasions, was perfectly Arab; and the Arabic language was as familiar to them as the Persian; but every thing else, in their dress, their manners, and their character, was more nearly allied to Persian habits, and seemed to point out an Arabic origin.

At sun-set, having gone fifteen miles on a true course of south-east, the Persian coast still in sight, Charrack Hill bearing north by west, an island was seen from the mast-head, near the Arabian shore, bearing south by west, and our soundings in thirty-five fathoms. This was probably the island of Zara, mentioned as

* Voyage of Nearchus, p. 38.

being near the port of Seer, about this part of the coast; but of which no particulars are accurately known. It is said, however, to be opposite to an angle or elbow of the land, from whence the coast trends away more southerly than it is marked in the latest charts.

The bay from hence to the westward is reported to extend at least a degree deeper in a southern direction than it is delineated by the best authorities, and to contain a great number of islands generally unknown to European navigators. In a recent voyage along the Arabian coast, on this side of the Gulf, made by the Honourable Captain Maude, in his Majesty's ship Favourite, eight of these islands were seen, and their positions tolerably well ascertained; but a still greater number remain yet unknown, as the whole of the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf has been but imperfectly explored.

The westernmost of all the islands in this bay is called Geziret Bethoobee, from a town of that name, abreast of which it lies. The town itself has a port, and is a place of some trade, being in friendship with the Imaum of Muscat, and receiving vessels and supplies both of merchandize and provisions from that mart. This island is placed by the latest authorities in lat. 25° 20′ north, and long. 53° 40′ east, and is in size nearly equal to Polior, extending about ten miles in length from east to west, and being about half that breadth from north to south. The town of Bethoobee is placed in lat. 24° 35′ north, and long. 53° 50′ east, and lies on a low and desert coast. There is a wide and clear passage between the island and the main, in which the soundings decrease from twenty fathoms near the former, to five near the latter. This island may, after all, be the same with the Zara and the Seer of the charts, as nothing is more easy than the corruption of Gezireh, the Arabic name of an island generally, into either of these forms.

The first or northernmost of the group, discovered in his Majesty's ship Favourite, and called, after her commander, Maude's

Islands, is the island of Halool; after which follow to the southward Sheraroo, Daoos, Jumaeen, Danee, Arzeneeah, Delamee, and Geziret Beni Aass, making eight in number. Of these their discoverer gives the following account:—

Halool is in lat. 25° 41′ north, and long. 52° 23′ east. It is high in the centre, decreasing towards each extremity; and, having a bold shore and deep water, from twelve to fifteen fathoms all around, may be approached with perfect safety. From a correspondence of latitude, this has been supposed to be the island of May, so called in the English charts, and placed about a degree further to the eastward, or nearly in the longitude of Geziret Bethoobee; but this is not certain.

Sheraroo is in lat. 25° 13′ north, and long. 52° 18′ east. It is from three to four miles in length from south-east to north-west, and not more than half that breadth, having two small hummocks on each extremity. About half a mile from the northernmost point is a small rock above water. To the north-west of this island, the Arabian coast may be approached; but as it is all low land in that direction, it should be done with caution.

Daoos is in lat. 25° 10′ north, and long. 52° 45′ east. It is six or seven miles in length from east to west, and about four in breadth. It is moderately high and rugged, with a low point extending to the north-west; and the soundings in passing it were on broken ground, and irregular.

Jumaeen is in lat. 25° 6′ north, and long. 52° 55′ east. It has three high hummocks, of an equal elevation, two on the north part, and one to the southward; but, on passing it, the haze prevented the extremities being seen.

Danee is a small and exceedingly low island, in lat. 25° 1′ north, and long. 52° 20′ east; the colour of which, in hazy weather, approaches so nearly to that of the atmosphere, that it is difficult to be distinguished on the horizon, and therefore should be approached cautiously. The passage between this island and Shera-

roo is clear of shoals, that would be dangerous to small ships; though there are sudden overfalls, on a coral bottom, from six to three fathoms and a half.

Arzeneeah is in lat. 24° 56′ north, and long. 52°.33′ east. It is in length about seven miles from east-north-east to west-south-west, and in breadth about a league. It is rather high and uneven, and the south side is particularly rugged. His Majesty's ship Favourite anchored off this island in twelve and a half fathoms, on a coral and sandy bottom; the centre of the island bearing south by east half-east, and the ship off shore from five to six miles. There are no trees on the island, and but little other vegetation; and the soil was found, on examination, to consist chiefly of metallic ore. About a cable's length from the eastern extremity of the island, and in that direction, is a rock above water, and a similar one also off the opposite, or western extreme; while from the north-east end a shoal extends for nearly a mile from the shore, composed of coral rocks and sand; and the south-west termination is a low and barren point.

Delamee is in lat. 24° 36′ north, and long. 52° 24′ east. Its length from north to south is about six miles, and its breadth less than half that, from east to west. It is of a moderate height, and of a darker colour than Arzeneeah. On its northern end, is a round hill, the extremity of which terminates in a low sand; and towards the southern point there are three small hummocks, which slope off in a similar way. Off the northern end of the island, a shoal extends for nearly two miles in that direction, which ought not to be approached under seven fathoms; and the passage to the southward of the island, or between it and the Arabian shore, is considered as altogether unsafe. The channel between Delamee and Arzeneeah is, however, clear of shoals; though there are in it irregular soundings and overfalls, from twenty-one to fifteen, and from twelve to seven fathoms.

Geziret Beni Aass is in lat. 24° 34′ north, and long. 52° 40′ east. It is rather high in the centre, very rugged, and extending to the

south-west in a low point, which nearly joins the main land, leaving a narrow channel, navigable by small boats only. The Arabian coast, to the westward of this, is very low, and the pilot stated that there were several small islands off it, but he considered them dangerous to be approached, except by boats. The channel between Arzeneeah and Geziret Beni Aass is perfectly safe.

All the islands here described have the same arid and barren appearance as Polior and Nobfleur, the Tombs, and other islands on the opposite shore of the Persian Gulf. The water found on them is said to be brackish; but Captain Maude, from the appearance of the soil, and from what he witnessed on the island of Arzeneeah, was inclined to suppose that good water might be procured. Safe anchorage may be obtained under any of them during the prevailing north-west winds of this sea, as a shelter from which they are conveniently situated. The currents, or tides, set through these islands from east-south-east to west-north-west; but neither their rate, nor the time of high-water, were ascertained. The magnetic variation, from a mean of several sights, was about 4° 30′ west.

These islands are placed in the centre of an extensive pearl bank, which extends nearly two hundred miles in a longitudinal direction, and about seventy miles from north to south, and from this bank a great quantity of pearls are annually collected. The positions of these islands, as here laid down, were not considered by Captain Maude to be exactly accurate; the heat of the climate having considerably affected the rate of his chronometers, and the haze over the land being often so great as to prevent his estimating correctly the distance from the shore when the bearings were taken: but it is nevertheless believed that their assigned positions are sufficiently accurate to render this account of them of some use to those navigators to whom the southern side of the Persian Gulf is unknown.

From the bottom of the bay in which Maude's Islands are situated, the Arabian coast extends for nearly two degrees in a

north-north-west direction, till it reaches the point of Ras Rekkan, or Ras-el-Sharek of the Arabs, where it takes a bend round to the south-west, and forms the Bay of Bahrein. This Cape of Rekkan is in lat. 26° 12′ north, and long. 51° 13′ east, having the town and Fort of Zubarra about a mile or two to the south-east of it; and to the west-south-west of it, at intervals of a few miles distant, are the towns of Yamale, Agulla, Khore Hassan, and Fereyha, with the creek and port of Laghere, at twelve hours' sail beyond the Cape, to the westward. The coast from the Cape westward forms a concave semicircle, extending a few miles deeper than the line of 26° north lat. and ending at El Kateef, the eastern point to the entrance of which is in about lat. 26° 28′ north, and long. 50° 5′ east.

The islands of Bahrein, which are seated in this bay, are two in number; as the name, being a dual in Arabic, implies. The largest of these bears this name particularly, and the smaller retains that of Arad; an appellation of very early date, when these islands bore the names of Tylos and Arad, in allusion to the Tyrus and Aradus of the Phœnicians, on the coast of Syria. The principal island has its centre in lat. 26° 13′ north, and long. 50° 35′, east. Its length is about ten miles, in a direction of west-north-west and east-south-east, and its breadth about half that, in another direction, across. The general appearance of the island is low; but it is every where fertile, well-watered, and supporting an extensive population. There are estimated to be no less than three hundred villages scattered over this small island, and every portion of the soil is cultivated; producing dates, figs, citrons, peaches, and a species of almond, called loazi, the outer husk of which is eaten as well as the kernel. The principal town, which is called Minawah, or Minawee—properly, the scala, or port, like other places of the same description on the coasts of the Arabs, from mina, a port—is large and populous, and has a good bazaar, with twelve caravanseras for strangers. Many wealthy merchants reside here, and an extensive commerce is carried on in the export-

ation of pearls to India, and the importation of the manufactures and productions of that country, for the supply of all the eastern coast of Arabia, and the interior of that peninsula.

The island of Arad is of nearly the same length as the principal one of Bahrein, but is exceedingly narrow, particularly towards the centre, where it is hardly half a mile across, and at its widest parts, which are nearest each extremity of its length, it is not more than two miles over. The direction of its length is nearly north and south, and its centre is in lat. 26° 15′ north, and long. 50° 40′ east, making these islands to bear about south half-west from Bushire, distant one hundred and sixty-five miles. On the northernmost point of Arad is a small town among date-trees, called Semahee; and in the centre or narrowest part of the island, another village; but the principal town, which is called Maharad, or Maharag, is seated on the southern extreme, and is nearly as large as Minawah, being defended with two forts, with bastions, one at each end of the town, and a wall surrounding the whole. From this last end, over to the larger island of Bahrein, which, lying nearly east and west, stands almost at right angles with the former, there is a ferry by boats, which are constantly going night and day. The strait of separation between the islands is, at least, six miles in breadth; but being full of shoals, it does not admit the passage of ships through it.

The harbour is thus formed by these two islands; one lying north and south, and the other east and west; and good shelter is afforded by them from all but north-west winds. Though the approach to the harbour is rendered difficult by the foul ground and shoals, yet, these being of coral, the water is so finely transparent as to admit of their being seen at a considerable distance, which renders the navigation comparatively easy, requiring only careful hands stationed to look out aloft, and guide the vessel through them by the eye. One of the greatest disadvantages of the port, is the distance of the anchorage for ships from the shore, which is often four or five miles. His Majesty's ship Favourite

anchored to the south-east of the islands, having the fort of Maharag to bear north-west, and the northern extreme of Arad Island north by west, where she was well sheltered from north-west winds. The Company's cruisers, however, usually anchor on the north-west side of the islands, with the following bearings: the town of Semahee, east half-north; the central village on Arad, east by south half-south; Maharag town, south-east half-east; Minawah, on Bahrein, south half-east; and an old Portuguese fort, on a rising ground, on the same island, south-west. This anchorage is in three and a-half fathoms water on a sandy bottom, and is about three miles off shore; but though well sheltered here from all but north-west winds, it is dangerous by its exposure to them, as that is the prevailing quarter from which they blow throughout the Persian Gulf, and there is then an extensive coral shoal, not more than a quarter of a mile to the south-east of the anchorage, which presents a lee shore to vessels riding here. The high land of Kateef, as seen from hence, bears west by north half-north, at a considerable distance. There is, however, a much more secure, convenient, and in every respect better anchorage than either of these two, within half a mile of the town of Minawah, where the dows and country vessels all lie in three and a-half and four fathoms water: the fort in the centre of the town bearing south-south-east; a patch of coral shoal without, north-north-west; the Portuguese fort on Bahrein, about west by north; and the centre of the town of Maharag, east.

The pearl fishery, of which these islands form the centre, is calculated to yield annually about twenty lacks of rupees worth for exportation, the greatest portion of which find their way to India, and the remainder are dispersed throughout the Persian and Turkish empires, by way of Bushire, Bussorah, and Bagdad, and from thence to Constantinople, Syria, Egypt, and even as far as the great capitals of Europe. The bank on which this fishery is carried on, extends from Bahrein, nearly to Ras-el-Khyma; and the finest of the pearls are found among the group

of Maude's Islands, near Haloola, (which may derive its name from loolo, the Arabic name for a pearl,) and Geziret Beni Aass. The islands of Bahrein furnish annually about a thousand boats; the tribes of Beni Aass at Bethoobah, or Boothabean, about five hundred; and the other small ports along that coast an equal number; besides those which sometimes come over from the Persian shore. It is said by some that any boats may fish for oysters on these banks without paying for such a privilege; but others contend that every boat found there must pay a fixed tribute to the Sheik of Bahrein. Both parties admit, however, that when any danger of capture from pirates is apprehended, the Sheik furnishes several armed vessels to protect the whole; and for this he claims a tribute of from six to ten pearls from each boat, according to her size and importance.

The fishery is carried on during the summer months only, when the bank is covered by boats throughout its whole extent. The divers are Arabs and negro slaves, who are mostly trained to the practice from their youth. They commence their labours at sun-rise, and continue generally until sun-set. They go down in all depths, from five to fifteen fathoms; remaining from two to five minutes, and bringing up with them from eight to twelve oysters in both hands. On reaching the surface, they barely take time to recover breath, and then dive again immediately, as it is found that any length of repose between, rather weakens than recruits the diver. All the gains of the fishery are divided in the most equitable way, by shares in proportion to the capital embarked in the boats; and those who have not at all contributed to their equipment are yet paid in proportionate shares also; so that all parties are interested in the gains of the concern, and all prosecute their labours willingly. The food of the divers, during the season, is chiefly fish, dates, and a small portion of bread, rice, and oil. During the fair season, they barely earn enough to keep them through the winter, which they pass, like the sailors of all other countries when on shore, in as great a

state of indolence and dissipation as their religion and their habits will admit of. These men, as might be expected, who pass one-half of their lives in the most fatiguing labours, and the other half in dissipation, seldom live to an old age. They use the precaution of oiling the orifices of their ears, and placing a horn over the nose when they dive, to prevent the water from entering by these apertures; but when they have been long engaged in this service, their bodies are subject to break out in sores, and their eyes become blood-shot and weak; and all their faculties seem to undergo a premature decay.

The terms of conducting an adventure in this fishery, vary so much at every season, and with every individual boat, that no rule can be laid down as a general one, except that each party is allowed to participate in the gain, in proportion to the capital he has embarked, or the personal service which he renders, and that strict justice and impartiality in the division prevails.

The largest and finest pearls are brought up from the deepest water, and all of them are said to be as hard when they are first taken out of the fish, as they are ever afterwards. They are, when new, of a purer white than after they become exposed to the air; and are calculated to lose, in this respect, one per cent. annually in value. There are two kinds of pearls found: the yellow one, which is sent chiefly to India, where those with this tinge are preferred; and the pure white, which are more esteemed in Europe, and find a better market also at all the great Turkish and Persian towns. The pearl of Bahrein is considered by all as very superior to that of Ceylon. The last is said to peel off, from not having acquired its perfect consistency when first taken, and to lose constantly in colour; whereas that of Bahrein is firm, and secure from that injury, and after a period of about fifty years, ceases to lose any thing in purity of colour. Before the pearls are sent off from the island, they are carefully assorted as to size, shape, tint, &c., and being drilled through, are strung on threads, and made up into round bundles of about three inches diameter, sealed and

directed, and sent in that form to distant markets. They are then called, metaphorically, 'Roomaan el Bahr,' or 'Pomegranates of the Sea,' as that fruit is in great esteem here, and these bundles resemble them almost exactly in form and size.

Bahrein is famous also for its springs of fresh-water arising in the sea. One of these rises in three fathoms, where the fresh-water gushes up through the sand of the bottom with great force. A jar is fitted to the mouth of this spring, and the person who procures the water from it, dives with an empty bag, made of a goat's skin, rolled up under his arm: this he dexterously places over the mouth of the jar, and it being filled in a few seconds, it floats up to the surface with him. There are four or five springs of this kind around the island; and the only water which is drunk at Arad, is procured from one of these, situated a few yards below low-water mark on the sandy beach there. The water from all these springs is in itself very fresh; but from want of care in fitting the skins on their orifices, the sea-water is often admitted with it, and makes it brackish. A similar spring to these, it will be remembered, was discovered at the bottom of the sea near the Phœnician island of Aradus, on the coast of Syria. The inhabitants of that place are said, however, by Strabo, to have drawn their water from thence by means of a leaden bell, and a leathern pipe fitted to its bottom—a refinement in art, to which the people of Bahrein, with all the wealth which their sea of pearls affords them, have not yet arrived. The Arad of the Persian Gulf had at least this one feature of resemblance to the Aradus of the Mediterranean Sea: and both Tylos and it were worthy of their names, from the riches which they drew from the ocean; as colonies of a state, like Tyre, whose strength was in her shipping and her commerce, and whose purple, that dyed the robes of kings and emperors in ancient days, was drawn from the same element as the pearls which went from hence to deck the crowns and diadems of queens and empresses, and serve more generally the purposes of ornament and decoration in modern times.

It has been thought that these fresh springs rising at the bottom of the ocean, as well as the plentiful fall of rains from above, are favourable to the formation of the pearl. Mr. Morier says, 'The fishermen always augur a good season of the pearl when there have been plentiful rains; and so accurately has experience taught them this, that when corn is very cheap, they increase their demands for fishing. The connexion is so well ascertained, (at least, so fully credited,—not by them only, but by the merchants at large,) that the prices paid to the fishermen are, in fact, always raised when there have been great rains.'* There is a curious passage in Benjamin of Tudela, relating to the supposed formation of pearls, which seems to prove that it was a belief pretty widely extended; for he speaks of the people of Kathipan, a very distant place in India, where there were fifty thousand Jews; attributing the formation to the fall of a dew at a fixed period, which they collected from the surface of the waters, and afterwards caused to descend to the bottom of the sea.†

In the bottom of this bay of Bahrein, about twelve hours' sail to the south-west of Ras Rekkan, or Ras Sharek, and from five to six hours' sail to the southward generally of Bahrein, is the creek and port of Laghere. In this creek, the boats of the pearl fishery are laid up during the winter, to the number of several hundred sail, as the creek is capacious, and extends for many miles inland. This town of Laghere is considered as the Mina, or Port of Lahsa, a large Arab town, about three days' journey by camels into the

* Morier's Travels through Persia. 4to.

† 'C'est en ce lieu (Kathipan) que se trouve le Bdellium, qui est un ouvrage merveilleux de la Nature fait de cette manière. Le 14 du mois Nisan, il tombe, sur la superficie des eaux une rosée que les habitans récueillent; après l'avoir renfermée, ils la jettent dans la mer, afin qu'elle aille au fond. Mais au milieu du mois Tisri, deux hommes déscend au fond de la mer, attachés à des cordes, qu'on retire, après qu'ils ont ramassés de certains reptiles, qu'on ouvre ou qu'on fend pour en tirer la pierre précieuse qui y est renfermée."—*Bergeron's Collection de Voyages.* Paris, 4to. p. 52, 53. By whatever name the pearl was known in the country of Kathipan, it is evident that this description of the manner of procuring Bdellium, can be meant of pearls only.

interior westerly, and nine other such days' journeys from Derriah, the Wahabee capital. The tribe of Arabs living there are called Beni Asareeah, and the place is reckoned to be of some strength and importance. During the expeditions of the Portuguese in these seas, Lahsa was the seat of a king, to whom both the islands of Bahrein and the port of Kateef were subject; and an account is given in the Portuguese histories of those times, of an expedition from Ormuz against Bahrein, on account of Mocrim, the King of Lahsa, having refused to pay tribute to them. Bahrein was taken by the combined arms of the Portuguese and Persians; and Antonio Correa, the leader of the former, added the title of Bahrein to his name. During the whole of the engagement, Reis Xarafo, or Asharoff, the Persian admiral, looked on from his vessel as an unconcerned spectator; but when afterwards the body of King Mocrim, who was shot through the thigh, and did not die till six days afterwards, was taken over to Lahsa to be interred, this cold-blooded and cowardly spectator went over to the town, and cut off his head, which he sent to Ormuz. What seems equally disgraceful is, that Correa, the Portuguese commander, in memory of the share which he had in this event, was authorized to bear a king's head in his coat of arms, which is still, says the historian of his own country, borne by his descendants.*

Beyond Laghere to the north-west is the town and port of El Kateef. A plan of this place, by Captain Simmons, has been seen by Horsburgh, and he judges from it that it is a safe harbour. In his Directory, he gives the latitude of the town as 20° 56′ north, but in his chart it is placed in lat. 30° 36′ north,—a difference which must have arisen from an error of the press. The directions for entering this port are probably from Captain Simmons too. It is remarkable, however, that though Horsburgh says, on the authority of the principal pilots, that the coast from

* Portuguese Discovery and Conquest of India, p. 2, b. 3, c. 1. sect. 6, from the Portuguese Asia of De Faria of Sousa, inserted in Kerr's General History of Voyages and Travels,—*Edinburgh*, 1812. 8vo. vol. 6, p. 188.

Graine to Katif lies south by west; and that a course from the island of Ohah, of south by west, will carry a vessel inside the islands between Graine and Kateef, and a course of south by east outside of them; yet he lays down this coast in his chart as about south-east half-south, or nearly four points different from that given in the Directory.* In a commercial work like Mr. Milburn's, one does not expect so much hydrographical accuracy; and when we find him placing Bahrein thirty leagues west-north-west from Bushire,† an error of nearly as many leagues in distance, and of about six points in the course, one does not feel so much disappointment; but Captain Horsburgh is an authority so highly and so deservedly esteemed, that it is in every point of view desirable to see his excellent work as free of blemishes as possible.

El Kateef is situated in about lat. 26° 20′ north, and long. about 50° 0′ east. It is a large trading town, intimately connected with the Bahrein Islands, and sharing in their pearl fishery as well as their general commerce, though the governments are independent of each other. It has a deep bay, in which the vessels of the pearl fishery are also laid up, as well as at Laghere, during the winter season. It is a singular fact, confirmed by all those who are well acquainted with the Gulf, that no worms are found to injure vessels' bottoms, or sunken wood, throughout its waters, destructive as that cause is to ships in all other seas. On the Persian side of the Gulf, there are no coral banks, and few other shoals, the soundings being mostly regular, on a muddy bottom, and the water thick and foul. On the Arabian side, coral banks and shoals abound, as in the Red Sea, with most irregular soundings, a rocky and sandy bottom, and the water beautifully transpa-

* Horsburgh's Sailing Directions, p. 247, 4to. We have great pleasure in saying, that in later editions of these works, these errors have been revised, and that all subsequent improvements in our knowledge of these shores are embodied in the successive editions of Captain Horsburgh's Charts and Sailing Directions as they appear. See this subject discussed in the Oriental Herald, for September, 1828.

† Milburn's Oriental Commerce, 4to. 1813. vol. 1, p. 119.

rent. In our progress through it, we had as yet seen no weeds, for which the Red Sea was so celebrated, under its title of Yam Sooph, and which, indeed, still abound there as much as ever; but floating serpents, of which I do not remember ever to have heard mention in the Arabian Gulf, are found in this of Persia, as well as on the coasts of Scind, Guzerat, and Hindoostan. Whether any, or which of these facts may at all account for there being no worms throughout this sea, to injure the bottoms of vessels, would admit of some consideration. The whole of the bottom, from Ras-el-Khyma up to Kateef, and, as some say, even as far up on this side as the mouth of the Euphrates, presents broken ground and sudden overfalls, or unequal ridges, to the lead, differing five and even ten fathoms at a cast; and the pearl-divers observe, that in these pits of the bottom, the best oysters are found, under the overhanging edges, or brinks of these openings.

Proceeding upwards from El Kateef to the northward, or towards Graine, the coast of the continent is but little known to Europeans, and is navigated with great caution by the natives, who, from the abundance of shoals in it, never move but in the day-time, with persons stationed on their yards and at their mast-heads to look out, and anchoring always before sun-set, as is done on the coast of the Red Sea. In this interval of space, there is however, in the offing several islands, to the number of seven, as the native pilots say. Four of these, which were seen and visited by Captain Biddulph, of his Majesty's sloop Hesper, have obtained the name of Biddulph's Group, and of these he gives the following positions.

The first island is in lat. observed on it 27° 55′ 50″ north, and long. by lunar distances 49° 26′ east. This is not more than three hundred yards long and sixty broad, being merely a sand-bank elevated only four or five feet above the surface of the sea, totally destitute of vegetation, and lying in a direction of east-north-east and west-south-west.

The second island is in lat. 27° 44′ north, and long. 49° 31′ east. This is nearly a mile in length, in the direction of north-east by

north, and south-east by south, and from four to five hundred yards broad. Its elevation is not more than five or six feet above the sea, and it has only some scanty vegetation on its southern edge.

The third island is in lat. 27° 41′ north, and long. 49° 31′ east. This is of nearly a circular form, and about half a mile in circumference. It is destitute of vegetation, and elevated seven or eight feet only above the sea.

The fourth island is in lat. 27° 42′ north, and long. 49° 26′ east, it being observed from the ship to bear west-south-west from the second island, distant five or six miles.

Between the second and third islands is a good passage, with ten fathoms, on a sandy bottom in mid-channel. These have each a coral reef around them, but it does not extend far off. When the third island bore west by north five miles, there were thirty-three fathoms, mud; and on the north-east side of the second and third islands, about three miles off, there were from twenty to twenty-eight fathoms, sand, in regular soundings. The first island had seventeen fathoms, sand and shells, on the west side, about two miles off. Captain Biddulph landed on three of the islands to observe, and found plenty of turtle and birds' eggs on all of them.

In Heather's chart of the Persian Gulf, there are seven islands lying scattered, with some shoals among them, nearly in this latitude and longitude; but their individual positions are most inaccurate. The whole number of seven may, and do probably exist, however; and besides this group of Captain Biddulph's, the islands of Kenn and Zezarine, as they are called, further to the eastward, may help to complete the number.

The next port above El Kateef of any note on this coast, is that of Graine, as it is called in our English charts, though known among the Arabs by the name of Kooete only. This is a port of some importance, seated in a fine bay; and the town is large and populous, though the sandy desert presses close upon its walls, and

no vegetation is to be seen around it, within the range of human view. It seems always to have preserved its independence too, even at the time when Ormuz, Muscat, Bahrein, Lahsa, and even Kateef and Bussorah, which two last were garrisoned by Turks, were assailed by the Portuguese arms,* and they still bear the reputation of being the freest and the bravest people throughout the Gulf.

The town and bay of Graine is in lat. 29° 15′ north, and about long. 48° 0′ east, or nearly south-south-west from the bar of the Euphrates, at the distance of about fifty miles. The town itself is chiefly inhabited by mercantile and trading people, who engage in all the branches of commerce carried on throughout the Gulf. The port sends out, at least, a hundred sail of vessels, large and small; and the people who navigate them, as well as those for whom they sail, have the highest character for probity, skill, firmness, and courage. The bay admits of excellent anchorage, in convenient depths, from ten to five fathoms water; and it was for some time used as the station of the East India Company's cruisers, to land and wait for dispatches transmitting between India and Europe, during the temporary residence there of the Company's Agent, who had quitted Bussorah, on account of some differences with the Turkish Government.

The entrance to the Bay is covered by a group of three small islands, following each other in succession, in a line of nearly south-south-east from each other. To the southward of these, at a distance so as but just to be perceived from the mast-head of a large ship in the clearest day, is another group of three similar islands, more widely separated.

The name of the northernmost of this southern group is Koubbeh, probably from having a saint's tomb with a dome on it,

* See a detail of the operations against Kateef and Bussorah, in the very year in which the Portuguese poet, Camoens, went out to India to endeavour to advance his fortune by the sword, after it had been so little promoted by his pen.—*Portuguese Discovery and Conquest of Asia*, as before referred to in Kerr's Collection, vol. vi. p. 408—410.

for that the name in Arabic implies. This is thought to bear about south-east, from the southern point of Graine harbour or bay, at a distance of fourteen miles. The name of the second is Umm-el-Maradam, and this lies south-south-east, distant about twenty-one miles from the same point of Graine harbour. The name of the third is Gharroo, which lies from the same place about south-east, distant twenty-five miles.

The name of the three islands that form the northern group, beginning from the northward, are Moochan, Feliché, and Ukhar. They lie in a direction of south-south-east from each other at intervals of four or five miles apart, and cover the mouth of the entrance to the bay of Graine, for which they serve as sailing marks. These are all small; and Feliché, the largest, is not more than seven miles in circumference. As far as I could learn, they were in general barren, and at present uninhabited; but as they are said to possess fresh water, they might not always have been so.

Notwithstanding this long digression, a word deserves to be devoted to these islands, for the illustration of Ancient Geography. Arrian, in recording the design which Alexander the Great entertained of invading Arabia by sea, enters into a description of that part of it which borders on the Persian Gulf, beginning from the Euphrates. The extent of Arabia, along the sea-coast, according to the information given of it to Alexander, was, says his historian, not less than India; and many islands lay not far off it. There were also sundry creeks and other places there, fit for the reception of a navy; and divers convenient places to build cities, which in time might become rich and populous. Two islands were particularly reported to lie in the sea, over against the mouth of the Euphrates, one of which was not above one hundred and twenty stadia distant from the mouth of that river and the sea-shore. This was the lesser of the two, covered with thick woods, and had a temple on it dedicated to Diana; the inhabitants had their dwellings round the temple. The report was that harts and goats, and other animals, strayed

in the woods there unmolested, because it was deemed sacrilegious to take them on any other account than to offer them in sacrifice to the goddess. This island, as Aristobulus tells us, Alexander ordered to be called Icarus, from one of that name in the Ægean Sea, near which Icarus, the son of Dædalus, is said to have been drowned. The fable runs, that in disobedience to his father's orders, he attempted to fly into the upper regions of the air with wings cemented together with wax; and that these being melted by the heat of the sun, he fell into the sea, which was thenceforward called by his name, as well as the small island near the spot on which he fell.

We have here the measurement of about one hundred and twenty stadia, or from twelve to fifteen miles, for the distance of the Icarus of Arrian from the mouth of the Euphrates. Strabo mentions the same island, and most distinctly states that it would be on the right hand of a voyager who sailed from the mouth of the Euphrates towards Arabia, and consequently it would be near that coast. He calls the temple on it one of Apollo, instead of Diana; but in other particulars he agrees with Arrian.

In opposition to those two excellent authorities, as to distance and position, Col. Kinnier, in his Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire, has fixed on Karek as the Icarus of Arrian; though that island, instead of fifteen, is upwards of one hundred miles from the mouth of the Euphrates; and on sailing from these towards the coast of Arabia, must be on the left instead of the right, and at the distance of a hundred miles at least, so as not to be at all seen * The name of Karek seems in this instance to have been the only foundation for such an assumption, probably from some supposed resemblance to Icarus; but although a name given by Alexander to an island like this (for it was evidently not its native one) would last but for a short

* Kinnier's Memoir, 4to.

time among the people of the country, as no settlers were placed there to perpetuate it, and though the facts of distance and position are less equivocal guides; yet, if a resemblance in names must be had, that of Ohhar, or Ukhar, (pronounced as a strong guttural in Arabic,) may be supposed to resemble the Greek, which Dr. Vincent writes Ikharus,* quite as closely as that of Karek.

The other island, continues Arrian, is about one day and night's sail from the mouth of the Euphrates, and is called Tylus. It is very large and spacious, and not mountainous, nor woody, but produces plenty of several sorts of fruits, pleasant and agreeable to the taste.† In this we instantly recognize the present Bahrein, which retains to this day all the features here described.

It seems highly probable that the present town and harbour of Graine was the Gerrhæ of the ancients. Strabo says, that the Sabæans furnished Syria with all the gold which that country received formerly; but that they were in after-times supplanted in this trade by the inhabitants of Gerrhæ, near the mouth of the Euphrates.‡ Its position is quite as favourable for such a supply to Syria, as the country of the Sabæans could be; but, from whatever source the gold thus transported by them was then procured, that metal is no longer an article of trade, or even of remittance in any quantity, from the same quarter.

If an apology were deemed necessary for so long an interruption of the narrative of my voyage, it might be replied, that the information here detailed, regarding the western side of the Persian Gulf, is almost altogether new, and must be considered as at least a valuable addition to our hydrographical knowledge of this coast. The facts have been drawn from various sources, and these all authentic:—the manuscript journals of officers now in our squadron, kindly furnished to me for inspection; and the verbal information of our Arab pilot, Joomah, a native of

* Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients.

† Rooke's Arrian, 8vo. London, 1814, b. 7. c. 20. vol. ii. pp. 166, 167.

‡ Strabo, lib. 16.

Bahrein, and one whose life had been passed in sailing on these seas for the last fifty years. They have been thought the more worthy of preservation, as they are in general unknown to even the present navigators of the Persian Gulf, who are all afraid to approach this shore, from having no charts or information regarding it; though the Arab pilots assert the possibility of making a passage up through all the islands, and inside most of them. As, from the excessive heat of the low and barren deserts, even in the depth of winter, the land and sea-breezes prevail on the Arabian shore, a vessel might possibly make a passage by the aid of these; while the strong north-west winds, which prevail for nine months in the year on the opposite coast, are exceedingly difficult to beat up against.

At sun-set on the evening of the 24th, after seeing the Arabian coast, we tacked off it in thirty-five fathoms; and, going seventeen miles to the northward, tacked on again, in forty-two fathoms water, on a moderately soft bottom.

Nov. 25th. — At sun-rise we had gone about six leagues on a true east-south-east course, when we saw the small island of Surdy, its centre bearing north half-west, distant three leagues, and our soundings in thirty-five fathoms water.

This island is in about the latitude of 25° 50′. north, nearly nine leagues to the westward of Bomosa, and eight leagues to the southward of Polior, according to Horsburgh. It is said to be about six miles in length, from north-east to south-west, and not more than four miles broad. From the north-west end, a reef of rocks is reported to run out two miles from the shore; but the southern part of the island, on which the town is situated, is said to be clear, and safe to approach. There are three hills on the island, two of them near each other; and the third, which is the highest, at a considerable distance to the southward of them. Off the town, at the southern side of the island, there is said to be good anchorage; and it is added, that water and refreshments may be obtained at a cheap rate.

All this cluster of islands, occupying nearly the mid-channel of the Gulf between the Arabian and Persian shores, but mostly nearer to the latter, including Surdy, Nobfleur, the Great and Little Tomb, and Polior, which is the largest of the whole, would seem to be the Pylora islands of antiquity, as they correspond nearly in number and position, and retain nearly the same name in the principal one, from which the whole group might have been originally called.

The Great Tomb is a low island, little more than a league in length from east to west, and somewhat less than that in breadth from north to south. The northern extreme is the highest, and the southern shelves off to a flat beach, near which the water is shoaler than elsewhere; but as the soundings are regular, and there are no rocks known around it, the whole of its shores may be said to be safe to approach by the lead. Near its western end is a small bay, convenient for landing; and not far from this are some trees, close to which, it is said, fresh water may be procured. The island is at present uninhabited; and I could not learn that it had ever been otherwise, though its name is thought to be Portuguese in its present form, and derived from the appearance of some sepulchres there. Sir Harford Jones gives to this island, and a smaller one near it, called the Little Tomb, the Persian names of Gumbad-e-Bousung and Gumbad-e-Kutcheek, or the 'great and little dome,' from the domes which usually crown the sepulchres of Mohammedan Imaums; but we could perceive no vestige of buildings at present on either of them; nor could I learn from the Persians and Arabs on board, that these had any other names than simply 'islands,' in either of these languages; or if there were any, they were not acquainted with them. It is mentioned as the place of anchorage of the fleet of Nearchus, after the grounding of the galleys on the shoal of Oarakhta, and is known by the identity of its situation, at the distance of three hundred stadia from that island, though it is there mentioned also without a name.

It is among the towns opposite to this, on the Persian coast, that the Sidodône of Nearchus is to be sought for, the place where he watered his fleet, after their coming from their anchorage at the island of the Great Tomb. It is as likely to have been Shenaz as any of the others; for at this they might procure good water, and fish at least, and this it seems was all they could obtain. This, too, would correspond more accurately than either of the others with the course of the route, and the distances given. The passage of the journal is, 'In the morning they weighed again (from the Great Tomb), and keeping an island, named Pulora, on their left, they proceeded to a town on the continent, called Sidodône, or Sisidône: it was a poor place, which could afford no supply but fish and water; for the inhabitants here also were Ikhthuophagi, and had no means of support but what they derived from their fishery.'* Dr. Vincent had great difficulty in fixing on this town, from the discordant testimonies of different voyagers along the coast; and it must be confessed, that a comparison of the names and positions of the authorities he has quoted, would be alone sufficient to discourage a man of less perseverance than the learned Dean from the tedious and often unsatisfactory task of endeavouring to reconcile and harmonize them.

This island of Froor, though upwards of two leagues in length, and more than one in breadth, is not inhabited, nor was it known to any of whom I could enquire on board, whether it possessed water or vegetation. Its appearance was favourable to the conjecture that it had both; but this is always liable to error. There can remain no doubt of this island being the Pulôra which Nearchus is described to have had on his left hand, when sailing from the desert one of the Great Tomb, where the fleet had anchored, to the town of Sidodône, where it procured water. It seems singular, in this instance, that the ancient Greek and modern English name should so nearly resemble each other in their varia-

* Vincent's Nearchus, 37, vol. 1, p. 59.

tion from the original native one, unless one might suppose Polior to have been rather derived from Pulôra subsequent to the knowledge of its being the island so called by the Macedonian admiral; but both of them are so nearly allied to Froor, when analysed and compared, that they may both have been written down from a native mouth, so difficult is it to catch with accuracy the sounds of a foreign language, and still more difficult to express them in writing. The Greeks have been loudly complained against for their errors in this respect; and it is true that many of their names are difficult to be traced to their source, or to be recognized even as corruptions of original native ones. But the moderns, at least those not skilled in the languages of the countries of which they write, commit errors of equal magnitude. The German, the French, and the Italian orthography and pronunciation of Oriental names, have often no resemblance to each other; and while our own countrymen, even in India, (who, navigating, like Nearchus, a shore previously undescribed in books, call the Joassamee Pirates the tribe of 'Joe Hassim,' and the Wahabee sect of Mohammedans, the 'War Bees,') have aimed to express in a foreign name, some known idea in their own tongue, one can hardly wonder at the Tylos and Arathus, the ancient names of Bahrein, being converted into Tyrus and Aradus, and derived from those islands of the Tyrians on the coast of Phœnicia,* or at Sidodône being made a colony of the Sidonians,† particularly among a people who, from mere resemblance of sounds, connected Media with the Medéa, and Persia with the Perseus, of their prolific mythology.‡

At noon, we were in lat. 25° 23′ north, and long. 54° 38 east, the low land of the Arabian coast being then in sight, bearing from east to east-north-east, distant about fifteen miles, and our soundings in fourteen fathoms water, on a sandy bottom.

We had light, variable winds throughout the afternoon, with which we steered easterly; and had at sun-set a portion of the

* Strabo, p. 766. † Gronovius and Ortelius. ‡ Vincent's Diss. vol. 1. p. 353.

low coast of Arabia, appearing like an island, bearing south by east, about three leagues off; and its other extreme bearing north-east by east, somewhat more distant; our soundings in thirteen fathoms.

When the day had well closed, we had a land-wind off the coast, blowing nearly from the southward. With this we stood along-shore, to the eastward, shoaling our water gradually to seven fathoms at midnight, when we cautiously hauled off a little to deepen our soundings.

The whole of our sea-voyage from Bushire down the Gulf having afforded no view sufficiently interesting for a vignette to the present chapter, I have profited by the kindness of my excellent friend, Mr. James Baillie Frazer, whose works speak sufficiently of his intelligence and talents, to present the reader with a view of the Ruins of Ormuz, from one of the unpublished sketches contained in his portfolio. I had hoped, indeed, that in the course of our voyage we might have had occasion to visit this spot, rendered interesting by its history and associations, and immortalized by the verse of Milton:—

> 'High on a throne of royal state, which far
> Outshone the wealth of Ormuz or of Ind,
> Or where the gorgeous East, with richest hand,
> Showers on her kings barbaric pearl and gold.'*

But not having had this pleasure, I content myself with subjoining a short notice of its rise and fall, from the History of Persia, as one of the most remarkable places in the Gulf; and without some mention of which, no account of these parts could be considered complete.

'Of the numerous settlements which Albuquerque had made on the coast of Persia, Ormus was the first. This island lies at the entrance of the Gulf, and is only a few leagues distant from Gombroon. It has neither vegetation nor fresh water. Its cir-

* Milt. Par. Lost, b. ii.

cumference is not twenty miles. Both its hills and plains are formed of salt; and that mineral is not only impregnated in its streams, but crusts over them like frozen snow. The nature of the soil, or rather the surface of the earth, renders the heat of summer more intolerant at Ormus, than in any of those parched islands, or provinces, with which it is surrounded; and unless we consider the advantages which it derives from its excellent harbour and local situation, it appears to be one of the last spots on the globe which human beings would desire to inhabit. The first settlers on this island were some Arabs, who were compelled by the Tartar invaders of Persia to leave the continent. These gave it the name of Hormuz, or Ormus; being that of the district which they had been obliged to abandon. One old fisherman, whose name was Geroon, is said to have been its sole inhabitant when this colony arrived. They remained masters of Ormus till conquered by Albuquerque; and it had been in the possession of the Portuguese for more than a century. It had become, during that period, the emporium of all the commerce of the Gulf; merchants from every quarter of the globe had flocked to a city* where their property and persons were secure against injustice and oppression, and from whence they could carry on a profitable commerce with Persia, Arabia, and Turkey, without being exposed to the dangers attendant on a residence in these barbarous and unsettled countries.

'Abbas saw with envy the prosperity of Ormus: he could not understand the source from which that was derived, and looked to its conquest as an event that would add to both the glory and the wealth of his kingdom. Emaum Kooli Khan, Governor of Fars, received orders to undertake this great enterprise; but the king was well aware that it would be impos-

* This city was at one time very large: little is now left, except the ruins of the numerous reservoirs, which had been constructed to preserve the rain that fell in the periodical season for the use of the inhabitants.

sible to succeed without the aid of a naval equipment. The English were ready auxiliaries. An agreement, which exempted them from paying customs on the merchandize they imported at Gombroon, and gave them a share of the duties taken from others, added to boundless promises of future favour, were the bribes by which the agents of the East India Company were induced to become the instruments of destroying this noble settlement. A fleet was soon collected: Persian troops were embarked, and the attack made. The Portuguese defended themselves bravely; but, worn down by hunger and fatigue, and altogether hopeless of succour, they were compelled to surrender. The city was given over to the Persians, by whom it was soon stript of all that was valuable, and left to a natural decay. Abbas was overjoyed at the conquest; but all the magnificent plans which he had formed from having a great sea-port in his dominions, terminated in his giving his own name to Gombroon, which he commanded to be in future called Bunder Abbas, or the Port of Abbas.*

'The hopes which the servants of the East India Company had cherished from the expulsion of the Portuguese from Ormus, and their other possessions, were completely disappointed. The treaty which Abbas entered into to obtain their aid, by which it was stipulated that all plunder should be equally divided, that each should appoint a governor, and that the future customs both

* If the English ever indulged a hope of deriving permanent benefit from the share they took in this transaction, they were completely disappointed. They had, it is true, revenged themselves upon an enemy they hated, destroyed a flourishing settlement, and brought ruin and misery upon thousands, to gratify the avarice and ambition of a despot, who promised to enrich them by a favour, which they should have known was not likely to protect them, even during his life, from the violence and injustice of his own officers, much less during that of his successors. The history of the English factory at Gombroon, from this date till it was finally abandoned, is one series of disgrace, of losses, and of dangers, as that of every such establishment in a country like Persia must be. Had that nation either taken Ormus for itself, or made a settlement on a more eligible island in the Gulf, it would have carried on its commerce with that quarter to much greater advantage; and its political influence, both in Persia and Arabia, would have remained unrivalled.

of Ormus and Gombroon should be equally shared, was disregarded from the moment the conquest was completed. The sanguine anticipations of one of their chief agents, who wrote to England "that their dear infant" (this term was applied to the commercial factory at Gombroon) "would receive new life if the king but kept his word,"* soon vanished: and we find the same person, after the fall of Ormus, stating, that no benefit whatever can be expected from that possession, unless it be held exclusively by the English. But every expectation of advantage that had been indulged, was soon dispelled by the positive refusal of Abbas to allow the English either to fortify Ormus, or any other harbour in the Gulf.'†

* Letter from Mr. Edward Monnox to the Company, dated Isfahan, 1621.

† History of Persia, vol. i. p. 545—548.

To this may be added the following striking description of this celebrated mart, by a very early writer, who, in the antiquated but forcible language of his times, thus pourtrays the fall of this now silent and desolate heap of ruins:—

'Ormus is an isle within the Gulf; in old times known by the name Geru, and before that, Ogiris (but I dare not say from a famous Thæban of that name); its circuit is fifteen miles; and procreates nothing note-worthy, salt excepted, of which the rocks are participant, and the silver-shining sand expresseth sulphur.

'At the end of the isle appear yet the ruins of that late glorious city, built by the Portugals, but under command of a tiltular King, a Moor. It was once as big as Exeter, the buildings fair and spacious, with some monasteries, and a large bazaar, or market.

'Of most note and excellence is the castle, well-seated, entrenched, and fortified. In a word, this poor place, now not worth the owning, was but ten years ago the only stately city in the Orient, if we may believe this universal proverb—

'Si terrarum Orbis, quaqua patet, Annulus esset,
Illius Ormūsium gemma, decusque foret.

'If all the world were but a ring,
Ormus the diamond should bring.

'This poor city was defrauded of her hopes, continuing glory, such time as Emangoly-Chawn, Duke of Shyraz or Persepolis, took it with an army of fifteen thousand men, by command of the King of Persia, who found himself bearded by the Portugall. Howbeit, they had never triumphed over them, had not some English merchant ships (then too much abused by the bragging Lusitanian, and so exasperated) helped them, by whose valour and cannon the city was sacked and depopulated. The captains (serving the East India merchants) were Captain Weddall, Blyth, and Woodcocke.

'Their articles with the Persian Duke were, to have the lives of the poor Christians a

their disposal, some cannons, and half the spoil; and accordingly when the city was entered, after a brave and tedious resistance, forced to yield by plagues, fluxes, and famine, every house of quality, magazine, and monastery, were sealed up, with the signets of the Duke and merchants. By which good order, the Company had no doubt been enriched with two millions of pounds (though but their share), had it not been prevented by a rascal sailor's covetousness, who, though he knew the danger of his life and loss of the Christians' credit, yet stole in a monastery sealed with both consents, commits sacrilege upon the silver lamps, chalices, crucifixes, and other rich ornaments, and stuffed so full, that in descending, his theft cried out against him, was taken by the Persians, led to the Duke, confessed, and was drubbed right handsomely. But the greatest mischief came hereby unto the English, for the perfidious Pagans, though they knew the merchants were not guilty of his transgression, and consequently had not broke the order,—notwithstanding, the soldiers went to the Duke, saying, Shall we sit idle, while the English, by stealth and secrecy, exhaust all our hopes of benefit and riches? Whereat the Duke, glad of such advantage, replied, If so, then go and have your desires. Whereupon they broke open the houses and store of what was valuable, and made themselves masters of all they found; whilst the confident sailors lay bragging of their victories a-shipboard. And when they were possessed of what was done, they exclaimed as men possessed; but the Persians understood them not, nor cared they what their meaning was, seeing they verified the adage, Give losers leave to prate.

'Yet they found enough to throw away, by that small, sufficiently showing their luxurious minds and prodigality, if they had gotten more: dicing, whoring, brawling, and tippling, being all the relics of their husbandry and thankfulness.

'Only Captain Woodcocke had good luck and bad: lighting upon a frigate that stole away, unwitting to the enemy, loaden with pearls and treasure, that he took for prize, and kept all to himself, perhaps worth a million of rials, or better. But see ill fortune. The Whale (of which he was captain), rich laden with his masters' and his own goods, hard by Swally Road without the Bar, sunk, and was swallowed by the sands, occasioned by a hole, neglected by the carpenter, and failing to carine or mend her, the ports were open and took in water, which, to prove that even whales are subject to destruction, perished in that merciless element; Woodcocke, not long after, overwhelming his life with too much care, too unable to moderate so great misfortunes.

'This poor city is now disrobed of all her bravery; the Persians each month convey her ribs of wood and stone, to aggrandize Gombroone, not three leagues distant, out of whose ruins she begins to triumph.

'Ormus Island has no fresh water, save what the fruitful clouds weep over her, in sorrow of her desolation, late so populous; those are preserved in urns or earthen jars, and are most comfortable to drink in, and to give bedding a cool and refrigerating sleeping-place; to lenify scorching Phaëton, who is there potent in his flames and sulphur.' *

* Herbert's Travels in Persia, p. 46, 47.

CHAPTER XXV.

VISIT TO RAS-EL-KHYMA—NEGOTIATION WITH THE PIRATES—BOMBARDMENT OF THE TOWN.

Nov. 26.—The morning opened clearly, and we had a moderate breeze off the land, from the south-west, with smooth water. In the course of the night, we had passed the port of Sharjee, on the Arabian coast, which is not an island, as laid down in Niebuhr's chart, the only one in which it is inserted; but a small town, on a sandy beach, containing from five to six hundred inhabitants. It is situated in lat. 25° 34′ north, and lies eleven leagues south-west of a small island, close to the shore, called Jeziret-el-Hamra; and three leagues south-west of Sharjee is Aboo Hayle. Both of these send boats to the pearl-fishery of Bahrein, during the summer months; and for their subsistence during the

winter, they have abundance of fish, with dates, and the produce of their flocks, in milk, &c. though corn is rarely seen among them; and rice, their only substitute for it, is brought by them from Muscat and Bahrein, to which ports it finds its way from India and the Persian coasts.

Next in order to Sharjee is a small town, called Fisht, which is less than two hours' sail to the north-east of it, and whose population is scanty and poor.

Eiman is another small town, near the shore, a few hours' sail to the north-eastward of this, and, like Sharjee, containing a population of four to five hundred souls. These, however, do not send boats to the pearl-banks of Bahrein, but live chiefly by fishing on their own coast, and the produce of their date-trees and flocks on shore, being as destitute as the others of corn, rice, or other grain.

In the interior of the country, which is here a flat sandy plain, extending for several leagues inward, to the foot of a low range of broken hills, are Arab families, of the tribes of Beni Chittib and Naaim, both of which are numerous, and live in hair-tents, and ride on camels, which form their principal property, as they have no horses, and but few goats. Beyond this, in the interior, past the line of mountains to the westward, are Arabs of the tribe of Beni Aass, who are still more numerous than both the former combined, and whose state of existence is still more rude. These are described as living even without tents, lying on the bare earth, and having no other property but camels, of whose hair they make their garments, and on whose milk they entirely subsist. Their sandy wastes do not furnish them even with dates, and rice and corn are almost unknown to them. The flesh of the camels that die is sometimes eaten by them; but this is seldom, so that the various preparations of milk, in the form of cheese, butter, lebben, &c. may be said to constitute their common food. It is added, that throughout their territories there is but barely water enough for their camels, who drink no oftener than once in two or three days, and

subsist on the scanty supply of bitter and thorny plants scattered over these desert regions; and that this water is of so brackish and repulsive a taste, as to be drinkable only in moments of extreme thirst. All these people are Mohammedans, of the Wahabee sect, enthusiastically devoted to their religion, and ready, on all occasions, to array themselves in battle against its enemies.

From Eiman, north-eastward, in the line of the coast, and distant about two hours' sail, or about ten miles, is Oom-el-Ghiewan, which we just discovered at sun-rise, and stood in for it on an east-north-east course. In running towards Oom-el-Ghiewan, we had a clear soft bottom, and regular soundings, shoaling from twelve fathoms at seven miles off, to seven fathoms within three miles of the shore. The coast itself presented a line of white sandy beach, with date-groves on the plain; and at the distance of twenty to forty miles within this, rose a ridge of lofty and broken hills, running almost north and south in the direction of the shore.

A large fleet of boats, to the number of more than twenty sail, were seen standing after us astern, probably bound either to Ras-el-Khyma, or some other port along-shore; but as we carried all sail, we soon lost sight of them. Other smaller rowing-boats pulled off from different parts of the coast, as if to speak with us; but these also, for the same reasons, were unable to come within hail.

At nine P.M. we had approached within three miles of the shore, and were then nearly abreast of Oom-el-Ghiewan, having it to bear south-east on our starboard bow, as we now steered north-east along the line of coast itself. The appearance of this place was that of a square enclosure, forming a walled village, as the dwellings within it were visible; a number of circular towers at unequal distances along the beach, and fragments of a former connecting wall; with detached houses and scattered huts, mingled with clusters of date-trees. On one of the round towers a flag-staff was seen, on which the Arab colours were displayed for a short while, and then hauled down again. We noticed also three large boats at anchor in a creek or back-water to the north-east, their masts

appearing over a low tongue of sand, and several other boats dismantled and hauled up on the beach. The appearance of four English vessels had apparently created some surprise, if not alarm, as most of the population were collected in a crowd on the beach as we passed.

We now hauled north-east along the coast, with a light breeze right aft, and had regular soundings of six and seven fathoms, on a sandy bottom, at the distance of three miles from the shore.

At noon, we had sailed about ten miles along a flat sandy coast, with but few trees on it; and were then just abreast of an isolated dwelling of some size, probably once a fortified post, seated amid a thin grove of date-trees, and called Beit Salin-el-Khamees, alluding, perhaps, to some story connected with the place. We were now in latitude 25° 38′ north, by observation, and longitude 55° 22′ east, by account; with the house described, bearing south-east, distant about three miles, in seven fathoms water, and the town of Jeziret-el-Hamra, just rising in sight, bearing east-north-east, distant seven or eight miles.

We stood on north-east, along the line of the coast, and having a fine leading breeze, were abreast of Jeziret-el-Hamra about three o'clock, our soundings continuing at six and seven fathoms throughout. This town is seated on a small low island of sand, separated from the main by a strait, which is at all times fordable, and never admits a passage for the smallest boats.

At the period of the first expedition against the strong-holds of the Joassamees, in 1808, this was destroyed; and since that period it has never recovered itself, the few who saved themselves by flight having added to the population of Ras-el-Khyma for mutual strength and security. At present, however, this place still presents the appearance of many perfect buildings, with round towers and walls, all seemingly of white stone, though only a few fishermen resort here in the fair season.

The wind now slackened, and it was not until four P.M., after sailing about two miles on a north-east course, with the same

soundings, that we perceived the town of Ras-el-Khyma, rising from the water-line at the foot of the lofty mountains in the east-north-east. We hauled immediately towards it, going little more than two miles an hour, and shoaling our water gradually from eight to six fathoms.

At sun-set, having gone about eight miles on a north-east by east course, we anchored in the last named depth, on a sandy bottom, with the following bearings: northern extreme of the town, south-east quarter south, three and a half miles; town of Ramms, north-east by east, three-quarters east, eight miles; Jezi-ret-el-Hamra, south-west quarter west, ten miles; Rash Shahm, north-east half north, twenty-five miles; Ras Khassab, north-east three-quarters north, thirty-five miles; high land of Gombroon, north by east, three-quarters east, eighty miles; islands of the Great and Little Tombs, north by west half-west, thirty-five miles.

As the arrival of the squadron had excited a considerable degree of alarm in the minds of the natives, since they had been prepared to expect hostile measures, the whole of the night appeared to have been passed by them in preparation for defence, and we witnessed a continual discharge of musketry in different quarters of the town, and even of cannon, from the towers and forts.

Nov. 27th. — At day-light in the morning, a boat was sent from the Challenger, under the charge of Mr. Wimble, second lieutenant, to take on shore Mr. Taylor and the Arab Mollah, as bearers of a letter from Mr. Bruce. The purport of this letter was briefly this: It stated the firm conviction of the British Government, that the capture of the vessels in the Red Sea, under their flag, was committed with a knowledge of their being English property; and waived all further discussion on that point. It insisted on the immediate restoration of the plundered property, amounting to about twelve lacks of rupees. It demanded also, that the commander of the piratical squadron, Ameer Ibrahim, should be delivered up for punishment, and that two of the sons of their chiefs should be placed in the hands of the Bombay Government as hostages for their future conduct. A refusal to comply with all, or

any of these requisitions, it was added, would be considered as a defiance of the British power; and therefore noon was fixed for the return of a definitive answer, by which the future movements of the squadron would be regulated.

On the return of the bearers of this letter to the ship, they reported that they had landed on the beach, and made their way to the gate of the town, which was guarded by persons within, who opened it only a few inches to receive the letter brought; that the gate was then closed in their faces; so that they were obliged to return to the boat, without having been permitted to enter any part of the town, or to go in any other than a straight line to the beach.

As Captain Bridges did not feel perfectly assured of the letter having reached its destination, and suspected that its not having been delivered into the hands of the Chief himself might be afterwards urged as an evasion of the requisitions it contained, he was desirous of ascertaining the fact more clearly, as well as of reconnoitring more closely in person the place of landing, the soundings, fortifications, &c. This wish was expressed to me by Captain Bridges himself, and my opinion of its practicability asked, which was followed up by a request that I would accompany him to assist in that duty, and serve him at the same time as interpreter, to which I readily assented.

We quitted the ship together about nine o'clock, and pulled straight to the shore, sounding all the way as we went, and gradually shoaling our water from six fathoms, the depth in which we rode, to two and a-half within a quarter of a mile of the beach, where four large dows lay at anchor, ranged in a line, with their heads to seaward, each of them mounting several pieces of cannon, and being full of men. We were hailed in passing these, gave the necessary reply, and passed on.

On landing on the beach, we found its whole length guarded by a line of armed men, some bearing muskets, but the greater number armed with swords, shields, and spears; most of them were negroes, whom the Joassamees spare in their wars, looking on them

rather as property and articles of merchandize, than in the light of infidels or enemies. It at first appeared to us that this line would oppose our progress, since they were evidently placed there to cut off any approach to the town; but, on beckoning to those immediately opposite to our place of landing, a party of them came near. To these I communicated, in Arabic, our wish of being conducted to the presence of Hassan ben Rahma, the Chief himself, as we had some communications to make to him personally. This was instantly complied with, and we proceeded under their escort, myself perfectly unarmed, and Captain Bridges wearing only a sword. As we were led through narrow passages, between lines of grass huts and small buildings, great pains were taken to prevent our seeing any thing to the right or the left, or making any observation on the plan of the town; while men, women, and children, who had all collected to see us pass, were driven before us by the spearmen, and made to fly in every direction.

When we reached the gate of the principal building, which was nearly in the centre of the town, we were met by the Pirate Chief, attended by a retinue of about fifty armed men. I offered him the Mohammedan salutation of peace, which he returned to me without hesitation, believing me to be, as represented, a merchant of Egypt, on my way to India, who had given my services to the English captain, as an interpreter, because I understood his tongue as well as my own, and wished that no blood might be spilt through ignorance or misconception of each other's meaning. After a few complimentary expressions on either side, he bade us be seated. As we were in the public street, there were neither carpets, mats, nor cushions, but we all sat on the ground. I then observed to him, at the request of Captain Bridges, that as the messengers by whom the letter was sent to him in the morning, had not found access to his presence, we had come to ascertain from his own mouth, whether the letter had reached his hands, whether he perfectly understood its contents, and whether an answer would be given to it within the time specified, or at noon of

the present day. He replied in the affirmative to all these, offered us repeated assurances of our being in perfect safety, and expressed a hope that the affair would be amicably accommodated. We repeated our assurances also, that no breach of faith would be made on our parts; and after some few enquiries and replies exchanged between us, we rose to depart, and were escorted by armed men, who cleared a path for us to the boat in the same way as we had come from it.

The Chief, Hassan ben Rahma, whom we had seen, was a small man, apparently about forty years of age, with an expression of cunning in his looks, and something particularly sarcastic in his smile. One of his eyes had been wounded, but his other features were good, and his teeth beautifully white and regular, his complexion very dark, and his beard scanty, and chiefly confined to the chin. He was dressed in the usual Arab garments, with a cashmeer shawl turban, and a scarlet benish, of the Persian form, to distinguish him from his followers. These were habited in the plainest garments, with long shirts and keffeas, or handkerchiefs, thrown loosely over the head; and most of them, as well as their leader, wore large swords of the old Norman form, with long straight blades of great breadth, and large cross handles, perfectly plain; short spears were also borne by some, with circular shields of tough hide, ornamented with knobs of metal and gilding.

The town of Ras-el-Khyma is situated in lat. 25° 47′ north, and long. 55° 34′ east, by the joint observations of the squadron on the first expedition here, and confirmed by our own at present. It stands on a narrow tongue of sandy land, pointing to the north-eastward, presenting its north-west edge to the open sea, and its south-east one to a creek, which runs up within it to the south-westward, and affords a safe harbour for boats. The town is probably half a mile in length, from north-east to south-west, and a quarter of a mile in breadth, from the beach of the sea to the beach of the creek. There appeared to be no continued wall of defence around it, though round towers and portions of walls are

seen in several parts, probably once connected in line, but not yet repaired since their destruction. The strongest points of defence appear to be in a fortress at the north-east angle, and a double round tower, near the centre of the town ; in each of which, guns are mounted ; but all the other towers appear to afford only shelter for musketeers. The rest of the town is composed of ordinary buildings of unhewn stone, and huts of rushes and long grass, with narrow avenues winding between them. The present number of inhabitants may be computed at ten thousand at least, of whom probably three thousand may be males, capable of bearing arms, and certainly more than half of these are negroes, of African birth. The government is in undisputed possession of Hassan ben Rahma, the Chief; and his kinsman, Ameer Ibrahim, is considered as the commodore of their maritime force. They are thought to have at present about sixty large boats out from their own port, manned with crews of from eighty to three hundred men each. Forty other boats, of a smaller size, may be counted among their auxiliaries, from the ports of Sharjee and Ramms on the Arabian coast. Charrack and Linga, on the Persian coast, and Luft, on the inside of the island of Kishma, are subject to their authority. Their force, if concentrated, would thus amount to at least a hundred vessels, with perhaps four hundred pieces of cannon, and about eight thousand fighting men, well armed with muskets, swords, and spears. No circumstances are ever likely to bring these, however, all together ; but on an invasion of their chief town, at Ras-el-Khyma, they could certainly command a large reinforcement of Wahabees, from the Desert, within ten or fifteen days' notice. The cannon and musketry of these pirates are chiefly procured from the vessels which they capture ; but their swords, shields, spears, and ammunition, are mostly brought from Persia.

The country immediately in the vicinity of Ras-el-Khyma is flat and sandy ; but on the south-east side of the creek spoken of, and all along from thence to the eastward, there appear to be extensive and thick forests of date-trees, the fruit of which forms the

chief article of food both for the people and their cattle. At the termination of this flat plain, which may extend, in its various windings, from ten to twenty miles back, there rises a lofty range of apparently barren mountains. The highest point of their broken summits was estimated to be about six thousand feet above the level of the sea, and their general aspect was that of lime-stone; but we could obtain no specimens or fragments of it. White strata were seen running horizontally near the summits, preserving every where a perfect level, though the summits themselves were ragged and uneven. The highest point of these hills was nearly behind Ras-el-Khyma, in a south-east direction; to the north-east the ridge fell gradually, until it terminated in the capes of Khassab and Shahm, set in the bearings of our anchorage; and to the south-west it tapered away almost to a level with the plain, and lost itself in the Arabian Desert.

In these mountains live a people called Sheeheeheen, who are distinguished from all around them by having fair complexions, light hair, and blue eyes, like Europeans, and by speaking a distinct language, which no one but themselves understand, and which has been compared by those who have heard it to the cackling of a hen. They live both in villages and in tents, and acknowledge a Sheik of their own body as Chief. They have three towns near the coast, between Ras-el-Khyma and Cape Mussunndom, called Shahm, Khassab, and Jaadi, each of which gives its name to the nearest headland. These, however, are hardly considered to be ports, since the Sheeheeheen possess no trading or war-vessels, and only use the sea in fishing for the supply of their own immediate wants. Most of them speak Arabic, besides their own language, and they are all strict Mussulmans of the Soonnee sect, having hitherto successfully resisted the efforts of the Wahabees to effect their conversion.

The anchorage off Ras-el-Khyma is an open roadstead, exposed to all the fury of the northerly and north-west winds, which prevail in the Gulf, and throw a heavy sea into this bay

which then becomes also a lee shore. In approaching it from the offing, we shoaled our water gradually, on a sandy bottom, to six fathoms, within three miles of the beach, where our squadron anchored. In our way from the vessels to the beach, in the Challenger's boat, we sounded as we went along, and carried two fathoms and a half to within bare range of gun-shot from the houses: just beyond this, a ridge, or bank, with only ten feet on it, formed a sort of breakwater, running along parallel to the shore, at the distance of half a mile from the beach. Within this, the water deepened again to two fathoms and a half, and here the light dows rode in smooth water, within a hundred yards of the shore, being sheltered from the sea by the ridge spoken of. The mouth of the creek, or back-water, in which they haul up their vessels for greater security or repair, appeared to us to be about a mile and a half to the north-east of the extreme point of the town, along the line of the beach. The entrance to this creek is impeded by a bar, over which there are only eleven feet at high-water; so that it is impassable at all other times but by vessels of very easy draught.

The tides along this shore set from north-east to south-west, in the line of the coast; the north-east being the ebb, and the south-west the flood: the former winding round Cape Mussunndom, out of the Gulf, and the latter flowing up the Arabian shore. The rise and fall, while we lay there, was about six feet, and the rate not more than a mile and a half per hour, or just sufficient to swing the vessels in a light breeze; but no accurate observations were made to ascertain the time of high water at full and change.

About seven miles from Ras-el-Khyma, to the north-eastward, is a town called Ramms, which shows some towers and dwellings, and has also a creek, with a bar across its entrance. This place affords good shelter for boats, and is a dependency of the former, as well as Jeziret-el-Hamra, already described, lying south-west by west half-west, eleven miles from the town.

Captain Bridges and myself having returned to the Challenger,

we waited until the hour of noon had passed, when a gun was fired, the topsails sheeted home, and the signal made to prepare to weigh anchor. This was instantly followed by the whole of the squadron, though it was intended to wait another hour of grace for the answer from the shore. In the mean time a boat arrived, with deputies from the Chief, bringing a reply to the requisitions sent. In this, he stated the impossibility of restoring either the property demanded, since that had long since been divided and consumed; or paying the amount of its value in money, as this was more than their whole wealth at the present moment could furnish. He peremptorily refused to deliver up the Ameer Ibrahim, who was his kinsman and near friend; denying also that this chief was guilty of any thing which deserved punishment, in capturing, with the vessels under his command, the persons and property of idolaters and strangers to the true God. Deputies were offered to be sent to Bombay to treat on the affair; but not in the light of hostages, as demanded,—since safe protection would be required for their going and returning. It was added however, that, as all things were of God, deliberation might possibly accord better with his councils, than hasty determination; and it was therefore requested that time might be granted until the next day's noon, to know what His wisdom had decreed to take place between them.

The Letter of Public Instructions from the Government of Bombay had ordered that, on the refusal of the Joassamee Chief to comply with the requisitions therein stated, the squadron was to quit the place, but not without signifying to him that he might expect the displeasure of the British Government to be visited on him and his race. Notwithstanding this, however, and the insolent as well as evasive answer of the Chief, it was determined to allow him until the following noon to deliberate; and our sails were accordingly furled, and the signal for weighing anchor again for the present annulled.

At sun-set the wind having freshened from the north-west, and a heavy swell setting into the bay, it was deemed imprudent to

continue at anchor there during the night: the squadron therefore weighed in company, and stood out to sea, the wind increasing to a gale towards midnight.

Nov. 28th.—It was intended, on our leaving Ras-el-Khyma, to have returned again to the anchorage there at sun-rise this morning; but the gale having obliged us to keep the sea, we found ourselves at day-light nearly over with the island of Kishma, on the Persian coast, having gradually deepened our water in mid-channel to forty-five fathoms, and from thence progressively shoaled again.

At eight A. M. we had closed in with Kishma, and had the smaller island of Angar under our lee to the north-east. The land had broken off the heavy swell of the sea; and finding ourselves, in smooth water, the signal was made for the Mercury to lead in and anchor in the bight between the islands.

We accordingly stood in-shore, gradually shoaling our water to ten fathoms within about three miles of the southern edge of Kishma, where the soundings are erroneously marked in Arrowsmith's chart of 1810, as five fathoms, at a distance of six miles.

Bearing up from hence east-north-east along the line of the coast, and shoaling from ten to five fathoms as we approached the island of Angar, we anchored at noon in that depth, on a muddy ground. Our place of anchorage, by careful observation, was found to be in lat. 26° 40′ north, and long. 55° 41′ east, with the following bearings:—western extreme of Kishma, west by south, twenty miles; eastern visible ditto, east half-south, ten miles; southern extreme of Angar, closed in far over Cape Mussunndom, south, five miles; northern extreme of Angar, east by south, three miles and a half; ruins of a town on Angar, east by south half-south, three miles; nearest part of Kishma, north, two miles.

The island of Kishma is the largest of all those in the Persian Gulf, being about sixty miles in length from north-east to south-west; and nearly twenty miles in its greatest breadth, from near Luft, on its northern shore, to the point near Angar, on its southern one. It is called by the Arabs, Jeziret Tuweel, or Long Island,

and is said to have been once thickly peopled by them. Their deserted villages, indeed, still remain; but the inhabitants have been driven out by the Joassamees, who plundered them in successive debarkations on their coast, carried off all their cattle and moveables, and obliged them to seek refuge in the opposite mountains of Persia. The valleys are still said to be verdant, and both dates and water abundant; but the flocks and herds, once so numerous here, have followed the fate of their former possessors. The central range of hills, which traverses the island of Kishma lengthwise, appears to have been originally a table land, or elevated plain; but this being worn down, and broken at irregular intervals, presents a line of fantastic elevations, of moderate height, or generally under one thousand feet. The soil is white and soft, and, according to report, antimony is found in it. The hills themselves are perfectly barren; but the valleys of the interior are said to be in general fertile. This island, which is called Kishom, or Queixome, in the old voyages of the Portuguese, is described by them to have been in their days sufficiently fertile, but very unhealthy; and this complaint against the salubrity of its climate still continues. It is separated from the main land by a navigable strait of about five miles in general breadth, and having five fathoms water in mid-channel. To the north-east of Kishma, about five leagues, is the island of Ormuz, the Harmozia of the Greeks, and the celebrated emporium of the Portuguese, as well as the port of Shah Abbas at Gomberoon, called after him Bunder Abassi, of both of which mention has been already made.

At the eastern extremity of Kishma is the island of Larack, (the Oracti of the Greeks, with the Arabic article prefixed,) which is said to be high, and to afford a shelter from the north-west gales under its lee; and at the southern edge of Kishma, about midway between its eastern and western extremes, is the island of Angar, which formed the excellent anchorage of our squadron. This last island is called by the Arabs Eneeam, and is separated

from Kishma by a strait of about a mile wide, with a clear passage through, of six fathoms, and safe anchorage both within and on either side of it. The island is low towards its edges, moderately high in the centre, nearly round in form, and seemingly from four to five miles in diameter, its southern extreme being in lat. 26° 37′ north.

Some observations made on this island during the expedition against the Joassamees in 1809, state that the soil of which the island is composed is chiefly sand and clay. Wherever the sea has made an irruption, the clay is petrified into hard rock; and not long since the roots of a plantation of date-trees were discovered in a complete state of petrifaction. Immediately beneath the surface of the soil, in a valley, which has been seemingly overflowed by the sea, salt was also found in large spiculæ. On one of the highest parts of this island were found two excavations, which were conceived to be mines; and from the appearance of the soil, it was thought probable that iron and brimstone had been found therein; indeed sand of a ferruginous quality abounds over every part of the island.

There is said to be fresh water on the south-west point only; but this article was formerly collected, during the rains, in large tanks, of which several are still remaining in a state that would require little expense to put them in perfect repair. In a failure of rain, water could be had from the villages of Kishma only; but these, as well as the ruined ones still seen on Angar, are now all depopulated and abandoned. The island of Kishma, and that of Angar, to the south of it, seem to have been included in the ancient name of Ongana, which might easily have been corrupted into Angar, and applied only to the last by the moderns, since the former was distinguished most appropriately by the Arabs as the 'long island,' in contradistinction to all the others of the Gulf.

We had the tides in our anchorage here similar in rates, course of setting, and height of rise, to those of Ras-el-Khyma,

but we had not experienced the tide of three miles per hour, which is marked in the chart to run in mid-channel. No observations had been taken for the magnetic variation since my being on board the vessel; but half a point was allowed in a rough way on the courses steered: the variation of the compass in 1809 was 8° 45′ west, as marked in the charts.

The island of Angar, which is called Hingam by the Arabs, is the one mentioned by Nearchus, as situated at the distance of forty stadia from the greater island of Oarakhta, and which he says was sacred to Neptune, and reported to be inaccessible.* On this passage the learned illustrator of his voyage says, 'It was inaccessible, perhaps, from some native superstition, like that attending the retreat of the Nereid in the Indian Ocean, and sacred to Neptune in a sense we do not understand. The Greeks attributed the names of their own deities to those of other nations, adorned with similar symbols; and as there is a conspicuous tomb on this spot at present, it is by no means impossible that the representations on its walls, if antique, might still unravel the superstition alluded to in the Greek Neptune.'† The distance given by Nearchus is but little in excess; and is as near the truth as the guess of any modern navigator would be, who had only seen, but not actually measured it. Modern accounts of Hingam, or Angar, as it is called in the charts, make it appear that the island was at some former period well peopled, since the ruins of a considerable town, and many reservoirs for water similar to those of Ormuz, were observed there by Col. Kinnier; and the report of Captain Wainwright makes the island to be productive of metals, of which some mines were formerly worked here. In 1800 it was recommended by Sir John Malcolm to Lord Wellesley, and in 1809 by Captain Wainwright to the Bombay Government, as a place admirably adapted for an English settlement; and it must be confessed that the advantages which it offers of an excellent harbour, safe and easy of access

* Voyage of Nearchus, vol. i. p. 59. † Vincent's Dissertation, b. 4. vol. i. p. 355.

at all times, with good water, and a cultivatable soil, are not to be found in any other island of the Persian Gulf that could be so easily defended, or is so well situated for guarding the entrance to the sea as this is.

The island of Kishma, or Kismis as it is called in the charts, on the southern edge of which Angar is situated, is the largest and the most fertile island in the Persian Gulf. It is the Oarakhta of Nearchus, the Ounoctha of Ptolemy, the Oracla of Pliny, and the Doracta of Strabo,—variations common enough to all the ancient geographers, when using foreign names, especially of places so far distant and so little known as this is. It is called Queixomo by the Portuguese, and Kismis by the English, which is thought to be the same word, and is conceived to be derived from its production of a small grape without seeds, called Kismis in Persia, and Sultana in Turkey, particularly at Smyrna, where it is an article of export to England. By the Arabs, however, this island is called Jeziret-Toweel, and by the Persians Jeziret-Drauz, both implying literally 'Long Island;' and as there is at its eastern end a town called Kassm, this is more likely to have given it the names of Kism, Kishm, and Kismis, than the production of the fruit mentioned. It is said to have had formerly three hundred villages upon it; and the report may be credited, for the fertility of the soil would be quite sufficient to support them. At present, however, there are not a dozen hamlets that are inhabited; though the situation, the soil, and the climate, are still as favourable as ever to population. The channel between this island and the continent of Persia is navigable for large ships; and our frigates, cruisers, and transports, went through it during the expedition of 1809 against the Joassamee pirates, when several of their towns and strong-holds in this channel were destroyed. The ship Mercury beat up through it from the westward within the present year; and the officers describe the channel to be clear and safe, the shores on both sides well wooded and watered, and the scenery of the whole channel interesting.

As on most of the islands throughout these seas, there are several dome-topped sepulchres seen in different parts of this; and it is quite probable that a similar custom of venerating the tombs of particular characters prevailing before Mohammedanism was in existence, might have given rise to the story of King Erythras and his tomb in this island. The Greek historian says, 'In Oarakhta the inhabitants pretended to show the tomb of Erythras, who, they say, was the first sovereign of their territory, and who communicated his name to the Erythrean Ocean, or at least to that part of it which is comprehended in the Gulf of Persia.'* After all that has been said on the origin of this name, I most cordially agree with the learned illustrator of Nearchus, that its most probable derivation is from Edom, a Hebrew word, signifying *red*,—and given as a name to Esau, because he desired to be fed with the *red* pottage which lost him his birthright.† Though Yam-Suph, or the 'Weedy Sea,' is a name strictly applicable to the Arabian Gulf, notwithstanding Bruce's assertion to the contrary; yet the Sea of Edom, as the name of the land it bordered on, is much more natural; and while the Greeks translated this literally into their own tongue by the word Erythrean, they would apply it as readily to every part of the ocean approached from this sea on the east, as they did the term Atlantic to the ocean approached by Mount Atlas at the Pillars of Hercules on the west. The discovery of a King Erythras, and even of his sepulchre, at the entrance of a more remote branch of this sea, would be too conformable to the taste and fashion of the Greeks, to draw forth much critical enquiry into its truth at the time of its being first suggested; and, for the same reason, it can excite but little surprise now.‡

Nov. 29th.—Having lain at the anchorage of Angar during the whole of the night, and the strength of the north-west gale being abated, we weighed with the squadron soon after sun-rise,

* Voyage of Nearchus, vol. i. p. 58. † Genesis cap. 25, v. 30.
‡ Vincent's Dissertation, b. 4. p. 350.

and stood across the Gulf towards Ras-el-Khyma, having, in going out, the same soundings we had on coming in.

At noon we observed in lat. 26° 32′ north, and were in long. 55° 36′ east, with the centre of Angar bearing north-east, and the western extreme of Kishma west by north, with soundings in twenty fathoms, on mud. The winds were light, and hanging from the westward through the afternoon; and at sun-set we had the extremes of the Arabian land bearing from east by north to south by east half-east, but no part of the coast yet visible above the horizon, and our soundings deepened to forty-two fathoms.

Nov. 30th.—We had light winds through the night from off the land, and at sun-rise had shoaled our water to twenty-three fathoms on a sandy bottom, the extremes of the Arabian land from south by east to north-east by east. At 9. 30. A.M. we saw the town of Ras-el-Khyma, bearing south-east, just rising above the horizon, with four large dows at anchor abreast of it. At noon we observed in lat. 25° 50′ north, and were in long. 55° 34′ east, with the extremes of the Arabian land from south-south-west to north-east by north, and the centre of the town of Ras-el-Khyma, south-east, with soundings in ten fathoms, on mud. At 2 P.M. having gone about four miles south-east since noon, we anchored in the roads, in five fathoms water, with the centre of the town south-east half-south, distant about three miles, and the extremes of the Arabian coast from north-east half-north, to south-west quarter-south.

The afternoon passed without further communication with the shore than the sending a letter to the Chief, signifying the cause of our quitting the bay so suddenly, and announcing our return, as well as granting him until the following noon to prepare his final answer to the original requisitions made.

DEC. 1st.—We waited throughout the morning at our anchorage, in hourly expectation of a deputation from the shore, when at length, about noon, a boat appeared, bringing some mes-

sengers from Hossein ben Rahma. The substance of the answer brought by them was equally as unsatisfactory as their former replies; and they wound this up by saying, that if the commander of the squadron would receive ambassadors on board his ship from the Chief, and leave pledges for his conducting them safely to the presence of the Governor in Bombay to treat of the affair in question, as well as for their safe return to Ras-el-Khyma when such treaty was concluded, they should be sent with instructions for that purpose; but that if he refused this, and persisted in his original demand, the issue must be left in the hands of Him from whom all events proceed, and what He had decreed must come to pass.

The messengers were accordingly ordered to quit the ship, and repair with all possible haste to the shore; it being signified to them, at the same time, that the final answer of their Chief could be received in no other light than as a defiance of the power of the squadron to enforce our demands, and that therefore all further negotiation was at an end.

The signal was now made to weigh, and stand closer in towards the town. It was then followed by the signal to prepare for battle, and shortly afterwards by the signal to engage the enemy. The squadron bore down nearly in line, under easy sail, and with the wind right aft, or on shore; the Mercury being on the starboard-hand, the Challenger next in order in the centre, the Vestal following in the same line, and the Ariel completing the division. The north-easternmost dow had weighed to sail up along-shore, and get closer to the other three, the approach to which was protected by the ten-feet bank or ridge described as running along parallel to the beach there. It was intended that the Ariel should have cut this vessel off; but, as the wind was light, there was no approaching her in sufficient time for that purpose.

A large fleet of small boats was seen standing in from Cape

Mussunndom at the same time; but these escaped by keeping still closer along-shore, and at length passing over the bar and getting into the creek or back-water behind the town.

The squadron continued to stand on in a right line towards the four anchored dows, gradually shoaling from the depth of our anchorage to two and a-half fathoms, where stream anchors were dropped under-foot, with springs on the cables, so that each vessel lay with her broadside directly facing the shore. A fire was now opened from all in succession, the Vestal having discharged the first gun, and these were all directed to the four dows anchored close in-shore. These boats were full of men, brandishing their weapons in the air, their whole number exceeding probably six hundred persons. Some of the shot from the few long guns of the squadron reached the shore, and were buried in the sand; others fell across the bows and near the hulls of the dows to which they were directed; but the carronades all fell short, as we were then fully a mile from the beach. The master of the Challenger was now sent with a boat to sound, in order to ascertain if it were practicable at that time of tide to approach any nearer to the enemy; but he found the bank of ten feet to be only a few yards within the ship, which drew fourteen. The Vestal and Ariel, however, dropped to within six inches of their own draught of water; and in the Mercury we had not a foot to spare; yet, even with the risk of grounding, our fire was ineffectual; and out of at least three hundred shot that were discharged from the squadron jointly, not one of them seemed to have done any execution.

The fire was returned from the dows with as little success, all their shot falling short; but two of the forts, after some time passed in preparation, at length opened on us, and their fire was much more ably directed than even ours had been: none of their shot fell far from us; and one of them carried away the Vestal's fore-shrouds in its passage, and then dropped under the weather-bow.

The Arab colours were displayed on all the forts; crowds of

armed men were assembled on the beach, bearing large banners on poles, and dancing around them with their arms, as if rallying around a sacred standard, so that no sign of submission or conquest was witnessed throughout.

Seeing that all our efforts were unavailing from the ships, and judging that there was no chance of success in attempting to cut these dows out with our boats, though every boat of the squadron had been hoisted out before we left our first anchorage for that purpose, the signal was made to weigh. The Ariel continued to discharge about fifty shot after all the others had desisted, but with as little avail as before; and thus ended this wordy negotiation, and the bloodless battle to which it eventually led.

The instructions of the Bombay Government had ordered that, on the failure of the application for redress, the squadron should retire, after signifying to the Chief, that he might expect the displeasure of the British nation to be visited on him in return for his hostile acts against their flag. Had this been strictly complied with, the Joassamees might have remained in a state of suspense with regard to the capture of our vessels, agitated between hope and fear; and time would have been given to the Bombay Government to prepare a more formidable expedition against them, without exposing their vessels to capture during the interval. But by this act of open warfare, which admitted of a triumph over our weakness, and a contempt of our incapacity to accomplish what we had attempted, all peace was at an end, and the slightly armed merchant-ships of the English were exposed from this moment to be attacked in their passage; since they must all pass in sight from Ras-el-Khyma, on entering and on departing from the Gulf. It is true that the destruction of the four dows which lay at anchor in their harbour prepared for such depredations would have been a temporary good, if it could have been effected; but even this would have been but a trifling reduction of their blockading force, while they had, as we were assured from other quarters, fifteen sail cruising at the entrance of the Gulf, from Ras-el-Had on

the Arabian side, to Cape Jasks on the Persian shore; and five other sail blockading the entrance of the Bussorah river. At all events, it would have been wise to have first weighed all the obstacles, so as to decide whether they could be overcome or not, before undertaking what, if accomplished, would have been a very doubtful benefit; and what, if failed in, was likely to make the most unfavourable impressions, and lead to very serious consequences before they could be provided against by any counteracting force.

It was about four o'clock when we made sail from the bay and stood out to sea. We now all disarmed; since every one in the ship, whether passengers, servants, or others, had girded on his weapons, under an idea that, as the boats were hoisted out to attack, our own vessels might have to repel an assault in return; and that all, in short, might be called upon to lift their hands in defence. It would be difficult to paint the trembling alarm, the tears, and womanish agitation of the two Persian Secretaries of the English Resident on this occasion. Colonel Corsellis and myself had succeeded in animating all the rest, however, by our example; and Mr. Bruce and Mr. Taylor, who had gone on board the Challenger before the bombarding commenced, had taken the Arab Mollah and the Bahrain pilot with them.

At sun-set the crew were summoned by the tolling of the ship's bell to attend the funeral service of one of their shipmates. This was an European, who had been some time in a state of great weakness; and, on hearing of the preparation for battle, was so much agitated by the discharge of the first gun, that he fell back and expired. The simplicity with which this solemn service was performed, and the devout attention with which it was witnessed by the sailors, who but an hour before were lost in one roar of blasphemy and imprecation, was particularly impressive; though, like the track which their vessel ploughs so deeply on the ocean, it was in a moment afterwards forgotten and effaced.

Dec. 2d.—The squadron had continued together during the night, on their way to Sharjee, where demands similar to those

which had been already refused at Ras-el-Khyma were to be made. This town was known to bear about south-west from our point of departure from the latter, at the distance of forty miles; but from an unnecessary fear of approaching the shore, the squadron had all steered out west-south-west, after the example of the Commodore; in consequence of which, we had no land in sight when daylight appeared.

In leaving our inner anchorage at Ras-el-Khyma, and steering west-south-west to the offing, our soundings were by no means so regular as in the course of our approach from the outer anchorage to the shore had been. We first gradually deepened to three and a half fathoms, and had then four and four and a half at a cast, returning again to three, and immediately deepening to five, which proved the existence of overfalls, or ridges and banks, in the bottom. Beyond ten fathoms, we deepened more regularly to twelve, thirteen, fifteen, seventeen, eighteen, twenty, and twenty-one, at intervals of an hour between sun-set and midnight; and then shoaled again to twenty, eighteen, seventeen and a half, seventeen, and sixteen and a half, in hourly intervals from midnight until sun-rise, without once altering our course from west-south-west, and having gone on an average of three knots per hour, or about forty miles by the log, during the whole run. The land-breeze dying away at an early hour, we all lay becalmed; and, from inattention and bad steerage, were so widely separated from each other, as to be scarcely able to distinguish any signals made. The Commodore, growing impatient of this delay, sent his boat from a distance of at least three miles, in the calm, to communicate his intention of sending off the Vestal from hence to Bombay with dispatches relative to the issue of the negotiation at Ras-el-Khyma, and to desire Mr. Bruce to prepare for that purpose with all possible speed. This, indeed, was a measure which ought to have been done in the opinion of all, except the immediate leaders themselves, on the first day of our anchoring at Ras-el-Khyma, when the ship to be dispatched would have gone off with a fine

north-west gale, which, by carrying her straight into the regular monsoon of the season, would have ensured her passage to Bombay in six or seven days. She had been led about, however, from Ras-el-Khyma to Angar, and from Angar to Ras-el-Khyma again, without either necessity or advantage; and even now had again been taken fifty miles on an opposite course to that of her destination; during all which delay, the north-west gale, and with it the chance of a quick passage, had ceased, and the prospect now before them was that of a long and tedious voyage. This was an evil of the utmost importance; for, as the Government of Bombay had expressed its intentions of preparing and assembling forces for an expedition into the Persian Gulf, its departure would depend entirely on the advices received as to the result of the present negotiation; and the season of the fair weather monsoon being now far advanced, the delay of a fortnight would render it too late to embark them during the present season, the loss of which season would occasion a suspension of all operations for at least six months.

At noon we observed in lat. 25° 22′ north, and were in long. 54° 43′ east, still calm, in fifteen fathoms water, and no land yet in sight in the point of bearing to which the squadron were directed, though the high land of Ras-el-Khyma and the island of Bomosa were still visible. The signal being made for commanders to visit the Commodore, preparatory to our parting company, Colonel Corsellis and myself, who had been promised a passage to Bombay in whichever vessel might be first dispatched, were transferred from the Mercury to the Vestal, and soon after this the squadron separated,—the Mercury and Ariel to go to Sharjee, Linga, and Charrack, for negotiations similar to those entered into at Ras-el-Khyma; ourselves, to Bombay; and the Challenger to convoy us clear of the Gulf, and from thence proceed to Muscat to give information of hostilities, and afford protection to vessels bound upward from thence.

It was about four o'clock when the colours were hauled down, as we made sail: we then steered out to the eastward, with the sea-

breeze setting in at north, and gradually came up hourly to north-north-east at midnight, having gone about thirty-two miles, and deepened our water hourly to twelve, twelve and a half, thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen fathoms, always on a sandy bottom.

DEC. 3rd.—The wind having drawn round progressively to the north-west, we steered from midnight to sun-rise a course of north-north-east, making a distance of thirty miles, deepening our water on the whole to forty-three fathoms, on a soft bottom, and then having the extremes of the Arabian land to bear from east by north to south-south-east, with the high land of Gomberoon north-east. The wind now became light and variable, and at ten A.M. it freshened up from the south-south-east, drawing round southerly, and settling at last at south-west.

At noon we observed in lat. 26° 17′ north, and were in long. 56° 8′ east, the island of the Great Quoin bearing east-north-east half-east, and the extremes of the Arabian land from east half-north to south half-west. The south-west wind continuing fresh and fair, we stood on to the eastward, with all sail, going nearly eight knots. At one P.M. the islands called the Quoins became visible from the deck, and at three P.M. we saw through the passage between them and Cape Mussunndom. The Quoins are two small islands, or masses of rocks, high, barren, and presenting cliffs on all sides, so as seemingly to preclude landing on any part of them; they are consequently uninhabited, and perhaps as yet untrodden by human foot. These islands are less than a league distant from each other, but have a clear passage of twenty fathoms between them, which is never however attempted but in cases of the most urgent necessity, from the probability of irregular blasts of wind, eddy currents, and the forbidding aspect of their cliffy shores. They lie about three leagues to the north-north-east of Cape Mussunndom, and afford a clear passage of fifty fathoms between; though even this, broad as it is, is seldom run through but with a steady leading wind, to secure success.

Cape Mussunndom, erroneously called Mussledom in most

charts, is itself composed of a cluster of high and rugged islands, completely barren, with steep cliffs on all sides, and seemingly rent from each other by some great concussion of nature, which tore them in separate masses from the high promontory of the continent behind them. Between all of these, it is probable that there are passages of deep water; but as a necessity of navigating through them could hardly ever exist for large ships, so the attempt would be imprudent in the extreme; since hidden rocks and violent currents might be expected there, as well as sudden gusts through the chasms which the channels of the islands form.

The actual point of this Cape is extremely difficult to fix with precision; for, opposite the termination of the promontory of the continent are several broken islands, all of them high, steep, and barren, and, by the abrupt chasms that appear between them, they seem to have been separated both from the main land, and from each other, by some violent convulsion of nature. The water is known to be of great depth all around and between these islands; and this circumstance, with the narrowness of the channels, occasions continual eddies, which are dangerous to ships passing near them. An instance is mentioned of an English ship of war anchoring in upwards of one hundred fathoms water in a calm, to prevent being driven on the rocks; and this was within half a mile of the cliffs.

This promontory is unquestionably the Maketa of Nearchus, seen by him from the opposite coast of Persia, and estimated at a day's sail in distance; and the information given to him by those acquainted with the country, that this vast promontory was a part of Arabia, and that from the ports in its neighbourhood spices were exported to Assyria, proves the existence of a very ancient commerce between the Arabs of these parts and India, from which such spices must have been brought.* It is no doubt also the same cape which is named Mount Pasabo by Marcian, and Asabo by Ptolemy, who calls the range, of which this is the termination, the Black Mountains; but I cannot help thinking the construction a forced one, which makes the combination of these

* Vincent's Nearchus, vol. i. p. 51.

names to mean the Black Mountains of the South, from a supposed affinity between Asaba and the Arabic word Asswad, black, as suggested by Sir Harford Jones. Dr. Vincent's interpretation of Sabo, as sometimes signifying the south, is more happy; but even then, it would be only to the very northernmost Arabs that this relative term would be a just one; for, to all the Arabs of the coast of Yemen, Hadramaut, &c. who, as navigators, were likely to have fixed the name, these mountains would be in fact northern ones.

The proper name of the Cape, as pronounced by all the Arabs of these parts, is Ras-el-Mussunndom; so that the other conjecture of Sir Harford Jones, as supposing this name to be a corruption of Ma-Salaum, or Cape Safety, is not more happy than his former one. The ceremony which he describes, as performed by the Lascars or country sailors of vessels coming into the Gulf, I have never witnessed; nor could I, after all my enquiries, learn that such a custom existed; so that the conjecture as to the name, and the reason adduced in support of it, seem to rest on equally frail grounds.*

The distance from Cape Mussunndom to the opposite point of Ras Mobarack, or the 'Blessed Cape,' on the Persian shore, is about ten leagues; so that the entrance of the Gulf is sufficiently broad for all the purposes of navigation; and the land, being high, is distinctly visible on both sides at once, from any part of the channel. This Ras Mobarack, or Bombarrack, as it is called, though placed in its right position by M'Cluer, is thrown down near Cape Jaskes by Arrowsmith, without any statement of authorities for the alteration.

The wind drew round from the south-west again to south, and, blowing thus right into the Gulf, obliged us to tack, and try to beat in mid-channel, in which we were slightly favoured by a current still setting outward, as the effect of the last north-west gale.

At sun-set we had the visible extremes of the Arabian land bearing from west-north-west to south-west by south; the island

* See Vincent's Dissertation, vol. i. p. 321.

of the Great Quoin north-west half-north; the island of the Little Quoin north-west half-north; and the outermost island of the Cape, which is generally called Mussledom Island, north-west by west half-west; with the visible extremes of the Persian land from north-west by north to south-east. Our soundings having now ceased to be a guide, as we had no bottom at fifty fathoms, the lead was discontinued, and we still beat to windward until midnight.

Dec. 4th.—During the early part of the morning it was calm, and this was succeeded just before daylight by light breezes, varying from west-north-west to east, or nearly all round the compass, having at sun-rise the extremes of the Arabian shore from north by west half-west to south-south-west half-west, and a portion of the Persian land south-south-east.

At noon we were again becalmed, and observed in lat. 25° 48′ north, long. 56° 42′ east, the Arabian land bearing from north-west to south-west by south.

In less than half an hour afterwards, a strong breeze freshened up from the south-west, which obliged us to double-reef the top-sails, and send down royal yards and masts, the ship going eight knots on a bowline, steering a south-south-east course, and close-hauled to the wind. This continued until sun-set, when the only visible land was a part of the Arabian coast, bearing west-south-west; and at midnight we were steering a point off, with the same breeze, and going nine knots free.

Dec. 5th.—The wind had drawn round to the westward after midnight, and gradually passed it to north-west by north at sun-rise, going eight knots throughout on a south-east course, the high land of Arabia then bearing from south-south-east to south-south-west, very distant. At noon, however, we approached Muscat, the principal port of the Arabian Sea, where it was intended we should separate, leaving the Commodore to return to the Persian Gulf, and proceeding ourselves to Bombay.

CHAPTER XXVI.

HARBOUR AND TOWN OF MUSCAT,* AND VOYAGE FROM THENCE TO BOMBAY.

The harbour of Muscat, which lies in latitude 23° 38′ north, and longitude 59° 15′ east, is formed by a small cove, or semicircular bay, environed on all sides, except at its entrance, by lofty, steep, and barren rocks, and extending not more than half a mile in length from the town, at the head of the cove, to the outer anchorage, in the mouth of it; and not more than a quarter of a mile

* A small portion of this description of Muscat has appeared in one of the new Annuals for 1829, 'The Friendship's Offering,' it being furnished by me at the request of its editor, Mr. Pringle, to accompany the View of Muscat, engraved by Jeavons, from a painting by Witherington, after a sketch of Colonel Johnson, of the Bombay Engineers; of which the vignette at the head of this chapter is a faithful copy.

in breadth from fort to fort, which guards the entrance on the east and west. The entrance to this cove is from the northward, and the water deep, shoaling quickly from thirty to fifteen fathoms at the cove's mouth. Ships entering it from the northward, with a fair wind, should go no farther in than ten fathoms before anchoring, as the ground does not hold well; and within this, there is but little room to drive. In entering it from the west, with a southerly wind, a ship should keep close to the small rock, called Fisherman's Rock, at the north-east point of Muscat Island, as there is deep water all along its edge; and on opening the ships in the harbour, it would be necessary to brace sharp up, and luff round close to the wind, under short sail, as the wind is often squally in coming over the high land from that quarter; and as there is not an inch of room to lose in fetching the anchorage, without tacking from the harbour's mouth, ships of war, and vessels making but a short stay here, usually lie well out, in fifteen to twenty fathoms water, with Fisherman's Rock open on the east, and the town of Muttrah open on the west; but this would be neither safe nor convenient for merchant-ships having to receive or discharge cargo. These therefore generally lie farther up towards the town, in the bight between it and the westernmost fort, where they moor head and stern, or in tiers, in three, four, and five fathoms water. There is another middle anchorage, well calculated for vessels wishing to make a stay of a few days, which is sufficiently secure, and yet leaves them always in readiness to weigh for sea. This is between the eastern and western forts, and nearly in the centre of the harbour, in six, seven, and eight fathoms water; and is the spot in which the Imaum's frigates and other large ships generally anchor.

The town of Muscat is seated near the shore, at the bottom of the hills, and in the south-western quarter of the cove described. It is of an irregular form, and meanly built, having apparently no good edifices in it, excepting the residence of the Imaum, and a few of his nearest relatives, and others holding the first posts

of government. It is walled around, with some few round towers at the principal angles, after the Arabian manner; but this is only towards the land-side, the part facing the sea being entirely open. Before this wall, towards the land, was originally a dry ditch, but it is now nearly filled up, and this side may in all respects be considered its weakest one. For its defence, towards the sea, there are three principal forts and some smaller batteries, all occupying commanding positions, and capable of opposing the entrance into the harbour even of the largest ships. The walled town is certainly less than a mile in circuit; but the streets being narrow, and the dwellings thickly placed, without much room being occupied by open squares, courts, or gardens, the estimated population of ten thousand, given, as they say here, by a late census of the fixed inhabitants, may not exceed the truth. Of these, about nine-tenths are pure Arabs and Mohammedans; the remainder are principally Banians and other Hindoos from Guzerat and Bombay, who reside here as brokers and general traders, and are treated with great lenity and tolerance. There are only three or four Jews, and no Christians of any description, resident in the place; though, as far as I could learn, there was no law or custom that excluded any class.

Besides this walled town, there is an extensive suburb without or behind it, formed of the dwellings of the poorer class of people, who live in huts of reed, and cabins made of the branches of trees interwoven with mats of grass, in the same way as at Mocha, Jedda, Hodeida, and the other large towns on the western side of Arabia on the Red Sea. The population of this suburb may amount to three thousand, a portion of whom are by origin Persians, and settlers from the opposite coasts near the mouth of the Gulf.

The Government of Muscat is entirely in the hands of the Imaum. The power of this Prince extends, at the present moment, from Ras-el-Had, on the south-east, to Khore Fakan, near Ras-el-Mussundom, on the north-west; and from the sea-shore,

on the north-east, to from three to six days' journeys inland on the south-west. The whole of this territory is called امان Amān, implying the land of safety or security, as contrasted with the uncivilized and unsafe countries by which it is bounded. On the north, as before observed, it has the sea; on the south, are the Arabs of Mazeira, who are described as a cruel and inhospitable race, and whose shores are as much avoided, from a dread of falling into the hands of such a people, as from the real dangers which it presents to those who coast along it. On the east, the sea also forms its boundary; and on the west are several hostile tribes of Bedouins, who dispute among themselves the watering-places and pasturage of the Desert, and sometimes threaten the borders of the cultivated land. The southernmost of these unite with those of Mazeira, and still retain their original indifference to religion; but the northernmost are by degrees uniting with the Wahabees; and being infected, as soon as they join them, with the fanaticism of that sect, they are daily augmenting the number of the Imaum's enemies, and even now give him no small degree of apprehension for the safety of his northern frontier.

Throughout this space, thus distinguished by the name of Amān, and which is somewhat more extensive now than it was under the predecessors of the present governor, are scattered towns, villages, and hamlets, in great abundance. The face of the country is generally mountainous within-land, and the mountains are in general rugged and bare; but, as they are very lofty, the dews, of which they facilitate the fall, and the clouds which they arrest, give a mild and agreeable temperature to the air that blows around them, and causing showers to wash down the decomposed surface of the rocks they add to the soil of the valleys, and occasion also rills and torrents to fertilize them. In these valleys are corn-lands, fruit-gardens, and excellent pasturage for cattle; and some of the country residences of the rich inhabitants, whose situations have been judiciously chosen in the

most agreeable of these fertile spots, combine great picturesque beauty, with the desirable enjoyments of shady woods, springs of pure water, and a cool and healthy air. The land near the sea-coast mostly extends itself out from the feet of the mountains in plains, which are but scantily watered by a few small streams descending through them to the sea, but which produce nevertheless an abundance of dates, nourish innumerable flocks of sheep, goats, and camels, and are lined all along their outer edge by small fishing-towns, which give occupation to one part of the population, and furnish seasonable supplies of food to the other.

The revenues of the Imaum of Muscat are derived chiefly from the commerce of the port. There are no taxes levied either on land or on cattle throughout all his dominions; and corn and dates, the only two productions of the soil which are in sufficient quantity to deserve the notice of the Government, pay a tithe in kind. The duties on commerce are five per cent. *ad valorem*, paid by strangers of every denomination; and two and a half per cent. by Arabs and other Mohammedan flags, on all goods brought into the port. As the country exports but little of its own productions, and these are duty free, it may be said that there is no export duty here; since transit goods, having once paid it on their importation, pay nothing more, whether consumed in the country, or exported from hence to any other market. As far as my enquiries went, it appeared to be the general opinion, that the revenues of the Imaum, from the productions of his own country, did not exceed a lack of rupees per annum; while that collected by the Custom-house of the port, on foreign commerce, amounted to at least twenty lacks, or, as my informant said, ten hundred thousand German crowns, estimated in round numbers.

During the lifetime of the present Imaum's father, or about twenty years since, the foreign trade of Muscat, in its own vessels, was much more considerable; and the number of ships, under other flags, resorting to its port, much greater than at present

They were then the carriers of India, under a neutral flag, as the Dutch were once, and after them the Americans, in Europe. The wealth which their merchants acquired from the high freights given to their vessels, both by the English and the French, in the time when the Indian Sea was a theatre of naval war, enabled them to purchase largely of the prize goods which were then to be found in the ports of both these nations at a very low rate, and to carry them in their own vessels with security to every part of the Eastern Islands, the coasts of Pegu, and the ports of the Arabian and Persian Gulfs, where their profits were immense. Their own port too, being made, like Malta in the Mediterranean, a magazine or depôt of general merchandize, the smaller vessels of all the surrounding nations who could not procure these goods from the English or French settlements direct, came and bought them here, so that the port was always crowded with shipping. The trade of Muscat is at present confined to about twenty sail of ships under the Arab flag, properly belonging to the port, and forty or fifty bughelas and dows. The former, which vary in size from three hundred to six hundred tons, are employed in voyages to Bengal, from which they bring muslins and piece-goods; to the Eastern Islands, for drugs and spices; to the coast of Malabar, for ship-timber, rice, and pepper; to Bombay, for European articles, principally the coarser metals, lead, iron, and tin, and for the productions and manufactures of China, into the ports of which country their flag is not admitted; and lastly, to the Mauritius, for coffee and cotton in small quantities, returning by way of Zanzebar on the African coast, where they have a settlement, in which is collected gold dust, ostrich feathers, tamarinds, elephants' teeth, and slaves. Their dows or smaller vessels carry assortments of all these goods to Bussorah, Bushire, and Bahrein, from which they bring down dates, pearls, and dollars, with some little copper; to the coasts of Sind and Baloochistan, from which they bring in return the commodities of more distant countries, met with at Mecca during the great

fair of the Pilgrimage; and to Mocha, from whence they bring the coffee of Yemen, the gums of Socotra and the Samauli coast, and both male and female slaves of Abyssinia in great numbers. The interruption of the navigation of these seas by the Joassamee pirates of Ras-el-Khyma has, for the present, almost suspended the coasting trade of the smaller vessels of Muscat, and even their larger ones are not always safe from them. This had given employment, until lately, to several vessels under English colours, principally from Bombay, who were employed by the merchants of Muscat at advantageous freights; but the late visit of the squadron under his Majesty's Ship Challenger to Ras-el-Khyma, and the open declaration of hostilities against them, having taken away the idea of protection from neutrality, which these merchants attached to the English flag, it is no longer resorted to as a cover for their property; and the trader is cramped and fettered by the necessity of arming every vessel, at an enormous charge, for her own defence, or submitting to the delays and vexations of convoy, which the British ships of war and East India Company's cruisers now grant to all vessels trading in the Persian Gulf. As the remittances from this place to India are made chiefly in treasure, such as gold sequins, dollars, German crowns, and pearls; and as all these pay a freight of two per cent. and are allowed to be conveyed by his Majesty's as well as the East India Company's vessels of war, these never fail of touching at Muscat, in their way, for the purpose of receiving such freight; and the King's ships being naturally preferred, from their superior force, for the safety of such conveyance, the emoluments of their commanders, from this source, are very considerable, and reconcile them to all the other inconveniences of being stationed in the Persian Gulf. Here, as at Mocha, the German crown is more commonly met with than the Spanish dollar. The former is called Rial France, and the latter Abu Tope, or Father Gun, from the pillars of the Spanish arms being thought to represent cannon. The German crown now passes current here

for twenty-one Mohammedies, a small coin of Muscat; and the exchange on Bombay was at the rate of two hundred and twelve rupees for one hundred German crowns, and two hundred and twenty-five rupees for the Spanish dollar. The Venetian sequin in gold is valued, when at full weight, at two and a quarter German crowns; all coins, however, receive their value in metal from the Sheraufs, or money-changers, who are chiefly Banians, and are very numerous here, as large profits are made by them in transactions and exchanges of money.

Out of the revenues which the Imaum receives on the productions of his own country, and on foreign trade, the expenses of his government are defrayed; but these are so light as to leave him in possession of considerable personal wealth. Were it not for the interruption of the trade, and consequently of the source of these gains, the treasures in his coffers must have been immense; but at the same time that his revenues have been recently lessened, the expenses of his government have been increased, and that too from the same cause. The growing power of the Joassamees by sea might have been checked by the arming the merchant-ships of Muscat in their own defence, and by the cruising of the frigates and sloops of war under the Imaum's flag in the Gulf, even without the assistance of the English squadron of the King's and Company's ships cruising there. But the Wahabees, of whom the Joassamees are but the maritime portion, threaten the dominions of the Imaum still more formidably by land. To repel them from his frontier, the deserts bordering on which are in actual possession of these sectaries and the tribes lately become their proselytes, it is found necessary to keep up a large moving force. Among the Arabs there are no standing armies; but every man capable of bearing arms is called on to become a soldier, whenever his services may be required. The only persons steadily kept in pay as military men are half a dozen captains, who command the forts at Muscat, Muttrah, and Burka, on the coast, with about a hundred gunners, for the management of the cannon under them. The

rest of the army may be called a sort of *levy en masse*. On his territory being threatened in any quarter, the Imaum addresses letters to the Sheiks, or heads of families, and to the men of the greatest influence and power in the quarter threatened, calling upon them to prove their allegiance by raising a body of men, specifying the number and the service required. According to the popularity of the war to be engaged in, these come forward with alacrity and good-will. Every man is already armed, almost from his cradle, according to the custom of the nation; and the very act of wearing such arms familiarizes him to their sight, and often improves the wearer in the use of them. As all discipline beyond a sort of general obedience to some chief is unknown among them, neither uniformity of dress nor of arms is required. Every man brings with him the weapons he likes best; the magazines of the Prince supply the ammunition; and the heads of such districts as the armed force may be actually in, are enjoined to furnish them with subsistence. Remunerations are made to these heads of districts, either by sums of money, or by exemption from tithes and duties to the amount expended. The spoils of the war, if any, are entirely divided among those engaged; and besides a stipulated daily pay to every man bearing arms, in proportion to his rank, an ample reward is made to every one at the close of the war, proportioned to the service which he himself is thought to have individually rendered. These branches of expenditure at the present moment, when the Imaum has a body of twenty thousand men on foot, press hard on the declining revenues of his port; but on the other hand, he is liberally supported by every one throughout his dominions, and voluntary gifts of sums for the prosecution of the war are made by wealthy patriots: and his own resources are thought to be yet very ample, and much more than adequate to meet every exigency.

The appearance, dress, and manners of the Arabs of Muscat differ but little from those of Yemen and the coast of Hadramaut. In stature they are of the middle size, but almost invariably

slender. Their physiognomy is not so marked as that of most of the Desert Arabs, from their race being more mixed with foreigners brought among them by trade. The complexions of those of pure Arab descent are much fairer here than in any part of Arabia that I have visited, from the southern borders of Palestine to the Indian Ocean; though, excepting the plains of Babylonia, Muscat is the hottest place I have ever experienced, in any part of the world. From the preference which seems to be given here to handsome Abyssinian women over all others, there are scarcely any persons able to afford this luxury, who are without an Abyssinian beauty, as a wife, a mistress, or a slave. This has given a cast of Abyssinian feature, and a tinge of Abyssinian complexion, to a large portion of the inhabitants of Muscat: besides which, there are many tall and handsome young male slaves, who are assigned the most honourable places, as rulers of their master's household, though still slaves; and others again, who by the death of their masters, or other causes, have obtained their freedom, and enriched themselves so as to become the principal merchants of the place.

A distinguished person of this last description had recently arrived here with all his family and suite, from Bombay. This man was a native of Gondar, tall, handsome, and of regular features, approaching to the European form; but his complexion was a jet black, and his hair short and woolly, though he had nothing else in his appearance that was African. He was originally brought from Massowah, on the Red Sea, and sold as a slave at Muscat. Having the good fortune to serve a most excellent master, and being himself a faithful servant, he was admitted as adopted heir to all the property, there being no children to claim it; and, as is not unfrequently the case in similar instances of a faithful slave serving a benevolent owner, he was invested with all the property by will before his master's death. Not long after, or when the time required by the law had been fulfilled, he married the widow of his benefactor, and took her and all her relatives under his pro-

tection. Making a voyage to India, he remained long enough as a fixed resident in Bombay to establish his domicile there; and, in virtue of this, was considered to be a British subject, and permitted as such to sail his vessels under the British flag. One of these, the Sulimany, commanded by an English captain, touched at Muscat, on her way to Bussorah. Some slaves were put on board of her against the English captain's remonstrances; and the agents of the owner, who was himself at Bombay, seemed to think, that though their principal was sufficiently an Englishman, by adoption or domicile, to obtain a British flag for his vessels, yet that they were sufficiently Arabs to be justified in conducting their own business, even in these ships, as Arab merchants. The Sulimany sailed for Bussorah, was examined and captured by his Majesty's ship Favourite, the Hon. Captain Maude, in the Gulf, was sent to Bombay, and there condemned in the Court of Admiralty, as a lawful prize, for being found with slaves on board under English colours, and accordingly condemned. The Abyssinian, finding his interests shaken by this stroke in India, had returned to what he considered his real home, and had brought all his family and domestics with him.—There were many genuine Abyssinians, and others mixed with Arab blood in their descent, settled here as merchants of wealth and importance, and this returning Abyssinian was received among them all with marks of universal respect and consideration. There are also found here a number of African negroes; but these, from their inferiority of capacity and understanding to the Abyssinians, seldom or ever obtain their freedom, or arrive at any distinction, but continue to perform the lowest offices and the most laborious duties during all their lives.

These three classes are all Mohammedans, and of the Soonnee sect. Their deportment is grave, and their manner taciturn and serious; but there is yet an air of cheerfulness, and a look of content and good-nature mixed with what would be otherwise forbidding by its coldness. Beards are universally worn; but these are by nature thin and scanty: they are generally preserved of

the natural colour, and not dyed, as with the Persians; though henna, the stain used for that purpose, is here applied freely to the soles of the feet and the palms of the hands; as well as tohel, or surmeh, the Arabic and Turkish names of antimony, to the eyes, from an idea that it increases their sparkling effect, and preserves the sight. Rings are sometimes worn, with the turquoise or firouzi stone set in them.* The dress of the men is simply a shirt and trowsers of fine muslin, slightly girded round the waist, open sandals of worked leather, and a turban of small blue checked cotton, with a silk and cotton border of red and yellow, a manufacture peculiar to the town of Sahar, to the north-west of Muscat, on the coast. In the girdle is worn a crooked dagger; and over the shoulders of the merchants is thrown a purple cotton cloth of Surat; while the military, or people of government, wear a neatly made wooden shield, hung by a leathern strap over the shoulder, and either hang the sword loosely above it, or carry it in their hand. Nothing can surpass the simplicity of their appearance, or the equality of value between the dresses of the wealthiest and the lowest classes of the people. The garments of the Prince, taken altogether, without his arms, could not have cost more, I should conceive, than about an English guinea; and his arms were

* Pliny describes this stone under the name of Gallais, which is translated 'turquois.' His observations on it are these:—It has a certain green, inclining to a yellow. It is found among the inhabitants of Caucasus, and here they grow to a large size, but are imperfect. The finest and the best are those of Carmania. In both countries they are found softly imbedded in earth, and, when seen in cliffs, project out like bosses. They are mostly found in places difficult of access, and were, for that reason, formerly slung at with slings; so that a mass of earth falling, brought them down with it. This stone was in such esteem among the rich people of the countries themselves in which they were found, that no jewel was preferred above it, for collars, chains, or necklaces. They must be fashioned into the desired shape by the lapidary, and are easy to be wrought upon. The best stones were thought to be those that came nearest the grass-green of an emerald (though now the bluest are preferred, and a green tinge is held an imperfection). Their chief beauty was however considered to be given by art, and it was admitted that no stone became setting in gold better than it. The finer colour a turquoise was, the sooner it was thought to lose its hue; and the baser it was, the longer to retain it. It was added that there was no stone more easily to be counterfeited by art than this was.—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* b. 37, c. viii.

not nearly so costly as is usual among the northern Arabs and the Turks. Notwithstanding which, however, the people of Muscat seemed to me to be the cleanest, neatest, best dressed, and most gentlemanly of all the Arabs that I had ever yet seen, and inspired, by their first approach, a feeling of confidence, good-will, and respect.

The foreigners who sojourn here for such periods as their business may require, but who are not reckoned among the permanent residents, are Hindoos; principally Banians from Guzerat; some few Parsees from Bombay; Sindians and Belooches from the coast of Mekran; Persians from Bushire; Arabs from Bahrein; and Jews from Bussorah. Some Desert Arabs sometimes come in from the country; and while they are looked upon as much greater strangers by the people of Muscat than any of those enumerated, and spoken of as a sort of wild race, among whom no man in his senses would trust himself, they, in their turn, regard every thing they see of the port, the shipping, and the bustle of commerce, with an eye of surprise and admiration. The few of these men that I saw, were of a smaller stature, more dried and fleshless in their forms, of a darker colour, and altogether of a more savage appearance, than even the Yezeedis of Sinjar. Like them, these seemed never to have passed a razor over their heads, or scissors over their upper lip. Their hair was long and black, and hung in a bush of thick locks over their foreheads, eyes, and shoulders. They wore no other covering than a blue checked cotton cloth, girt around their loins by a small plaited leathern cord, and were without any other shelter for their head than the immense bush of hair, plastered with grease, which covered it. One of these only had a yambeah; two or three of them had swords and wooden shields; but the greater number of them carried short spears only. They were seemingly as barbarous and uninformed as men could possibly be.

The town of Muscat is on the whole but meanly built. The Custom-house, which is opposite to the landing-place both for

passengers and goods, is merely an open square of twenty feet, with benches around it, one side opening to the sea, and the roof covered in for shelter from the sun. This landing-place is also the Commercial Exchange, where it is usual, during the cool of the morning, and after El Assr, to see the principal merchants assembled, some sitting on old rusty cannon, others on condemned spars, and others in the midst of coils of rope, exposed on the wharf, stroking their beards, counting their beads, and seeming to be the greatest of idlers, instead of men of business; notwithstanding which, when a stranger gets among them, he finds commerce to engross all their conversation and their thoughts. Of mosques I saw not one; at least none were perceptible in the town by their usual accompaniments of domes and minarets. There is no public bath, and not a coffee-house throughout all the place. The bazaars are more narrow and confined, and the dwellings all certainly poorer than in either of the commercial towns of Mocha, Hodeida, Jedda, or Yambo, on the Red Sea; and there is a strange mixture of Indian architecture in the Banians' shops and warehouses, gilded and decorated in their own fantastic way, which contrasts with the sombre melancholy of the Arab houses and alleys by which they are surrounded. The dwelling of the Imaum, which has an extensive and pretty front near the sea, the residence of one of his brothers near it, and about half a dozen other houses of the chief people here, are the only edifices that can be mentioned as good ones. The forts, which command the harbour, look contemptible to an European eye, though they enjoy commanding positions, are furnished with good cannon, and are perhaps of greater defensive strength than they would at first sight appear to be.

One great distinguishing feature of Muscat, over all other Arabian towns, is the respect and civility shown by all classes of its inhabitants to Europeans. Even in Mocha, where the East India Company have so long had a factory, the most impudent insults are offered to Franks, as they are called, even by children. Here, however, where there has not for a long while been any

European resident, an Englishman may go every where unmolested. In the town, every one, as far as I observed, even the Imaum himself, went on foot. When they journey, horses are seldom used, but camels and asses are the animals mounted by all classes of those who ride. During our stay at Muscat, I did not see, however, even one of either of those animals, though I was on shore and visited every part of the town. The tranquillity that reigns throughout the town, and the tolerance and civility shown to strangers of every denomination, are to be attributed to the inoffensive disposition of the people, rather than to any excellence of police, as it has been thought. There is indeed no regular establishment of that kind here, either in patroles or guards, except at the forts on the heights above the town, where there are sentinels who repeat their cries from tower to tower. Nevertheless, whole cargoes of merchandize, and property of every description, are left to lie open on the Custom-house wharf, and in the streets, without fear of plunder. The ancient regulation which prevented the entry of ships into the port, or the transaction of business on shore, after sun-set, is not now enforced; and though shore-boats are not permitted to come off to ships in the harbour after dark, yet ships'-boats are allowed to remain on shore, and to go off at pleasure. Every thing, indeed, is favourable to the personal liberty, the safety, and the accommodation of strangers; and the Arabs of Muscat may be considered, I think, as far as their manners go, to be the most civilized of their countrymen. The author of 'L'Histoire Philosophique et Politique des Etablissemens et du Commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes,' speaks of the people of Muscat as celebrated, at the earliest period of their commercial history, for the most excellent qualities. He says, 'Il n'est point de peuple dans l'Orient dont on a loué si généralement la probité, la tempérance, et l'humeur sociale. On n'entend jamais parler d'infidélité dans le commerce, qu'il n'est pas permis de faire après le coucher du soleil. La défense de boire du vin, et des liqueurs fortes, est si fidèlement

observée, qu'on ne se permet pas seulement l'usage du caffé. Les étrangers, de quelque religion qu'ils soient, n'ont besoin ni d'armes ni d'escortes pour parcourir sans peril tous les partis de ce petit état.'* This character of them is still applicable to their present state, and gives to their country a just claim to the proud title of Amān, from the security every where to be found in it.

The history of Muscat, as far as it is known in European annals, is given in a few words. During the splendour of the Portuguese power in the Indian Seas, and when their island and city of Ormuz was the chief magazine of trade for the Persian Gulf, the rival port of Muscat, enjoying even then the consideration which its local position was calculated to obtain for it, excited the jealousy of the intrepid Albuquerque, who made himself master of it about the year 1507, and endeavoured to force all the trade it carried on from hence, to increase that of their favourite establishment at Ormuz.† When this island was

* Tome i. liv. 3, p. 268.

† After the taking of Socotra, about the year 1507, by Alfonso de Albuquerque and De Cunna, the former of these proceeded towards the coasts of Arabia and Persia, with seven ships and four hundred and sixty soldiers. He came first to Calayate, a beautiful and strong place, in the kingdom of Ormuz, built after the manner usual in Spain, but which had once been more populous. Sending a message to the Governor, he received supplies of water and provisions, and entered into a treaty of peace. Proceeding to Curiate, ten leagues farther on, he was very ill received; in revenge for which, he took the place by storm, losing only three of his own men, while eighty of the defenders were slain. After plundering this place, it was destroyed by fire, along with fourteen vessels, which were in the harbour. From thence he sailed for Muscat, eight leagues farther, which was stronger than the two former, and well filled with people, who had resorted there from all quarters on hearing of the destruction of Curiate. Being afraid of a similar disaster, the Governor sent great supplies of provisions to Albuquerque, and entered into a treaty of peace; but while the boats were ashore for water, the cannon of the town began unexpectedly to play upon the ships, doing considerable damage, and obliged them hastily to haul farther off, not knowing the cause of these hostilities; but it was soon learnt that two thousand men had arrived to defend the town, sent by the King of Ormuz, and that their commander refused to concur in the peace which had been entered into by the Governor. Although Albuquerque had received considerable damage from the smart cannonade, he landed his men early next morning, and attacked the place with such resolution, that the Moors fled at one gate, while the Portuguese entered at another. The town was given up to plunder, all except the residence of the Governor, who had

lost to them, the Portuguese endeavoured to concentrate their commerce in Muscat, of which they still retained possession. The Abbé Raynal states, that all their efforts to effect this were fruitless, as navigators took the route of Bunder Abassi, or Gonbroon, near to Ormuz, on the continent of Persia. He says, that every one dreaded the haughtiness of these ancient tyrants of India, and that there was no longer any confidence in their good faith, so that no other vessels arrived at their port of Muscat, than such as they conducted there themselves. A more modern writer says, however, that after the destruction of Ormuz, Muscat became the principal mart of this part of the world, and thereby produced very great advantages to the crown of Portugal, exclusive of the prodigious private fortunes made by individuals. During that time, continues the same writer, this city was very much improved; for, besides regular fortifications, they erected a stately church, a noble college, and many other public structures, as well as very fine stone houses, in which the merchants resided, and those who by the management of public affairs had acquired fortunes to live at their ease.* The traditions of the people here are more conformable to the Abbé's account, though it is true that their vanity would naturally lead them to prefer this to the other, if they had to make a choice between them. This

received the Portuguese in a friendly manner, and had very honourably given them notice to retire, when the troops of Ormuz arrived; but he was slain during the first confusion, without being known.—*Manuel de Faria y Sousa*, vol. vi. part 2, b. 3. c. 1. s. 5.

The Portuguese Government of Ormuz and its dependencies was however so oppressive, that they constantly laid the inhabitants under undue exactions, and behaved to them otherwise with such insolence and violence, as even to force from them their wives and daughters. Unable to endure these oppressions, the inhabitants of Ormuz and its dependencies formed a conspiracy against the Portuguese, and broke out into an open insurrection against them suddenly at Ormuz, Bahrein, Muscat, Kuriat, and Zoar, all in one night, by previous concert, and by a private order from their King. The attack was so sudden and well-concerted, that above one hundred and twenty of the Portuguese were slain on that night; and one Ruy Boto was put to the torture by the Moors, in defence of the Faith.—*Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 192, part 2. b. 3. c. 1. sec. 6.

* Milburn's Oriental Commerce, vol. i. p. 114.

much, however, may be said, that there are at present no visible remains of such grandeur, in fortifications, colleges, churches, palaces, and private mansions, as Mr. Milburn has described; though at Aden in Arabia Felix, and all over Salsette in India, marks of such monuments are to be traced, and it is not easy to conceive a reason why they should be more completely erased in this place than in either of the others. Both of these writers agree, however, that the Portuguese were at length driven out from Muscat by the Arabs; and that these last, to avenge themselves for their former injuries, betook themselves to general piracy, and having many large ships, from thirty to fifty guns, committed great depredations on the maritime trade of all India. They were at length so effectually checked by the naval force of the British in these seas, that their piratical pursuits were abandoned for commercial ones as early as the commencement of the last century, since which they have become such as I have here endeavoured to describe them.*

* Some of the wise men of the East, who saw the star of the Messiah, and came to Judea to worship him, are believed to have assembled at Muscat in their way, according to the curious relation of an Armenian bishop, who spent twenty years in visiting the Christians on the coast of Coromandel. In giving the history of the dispersion of the twelve Apostles through the world, and the visit of St. Thomas to India, where he suffered martyrdom, this grave bishop declares upon oath, that it was affirmed by a learned native of Coulan, that there were two religious houses built in that part of the country by the disciples of St. Thomas, one in Coulan, and the other at Cranganore; in the former of which the *Indian Sibyl* was buried, who advised King Perimal of Ceylon to meet other two Indian kings at Muscat, who were going to Bethlem to adore the newly born Saviour; and that King Perimal, at her entreaty, brought her (on his return from Jerusalem) a picture of the Blessed Virgin, which was kept in the same tomb.—*Portuguese Discovery and Conquest of India*, part 2. b. 3. c. i. v. 6.—in *Kerr's Collection*, vol. vi. p. 196, 197. and part 2. b. 3. c. iv. s. vi. p. 419.

This Sibyl of the East seems to have been as highly favoured with a prophetic knowledge of the great work of redemption then about to be wrought by the Deity, as the last remaining Sibyl of the West was, who continued to burn the oracular books to the last three, and still demanded the same price for these as she had done for the original nine, from a conviction of their high importance, as they contained even more sublime prophecies of the Messiah than the most eloquent of the writers among the Holy Scriptures had given utterance to.

The history of these Sibyllæ, and of the Sibylline verses, may be found at large in the Classical Dictionaries. But there is a note of a reverend Doctor of Divinity, as the Editor

A little to the north-west of Muscat, and seated at the bottom of a cove, almost of the same form and size as its own, is the town of Muttrah. As a harbour, this is quite as good as Muscat, having the same convenient depth of anchorage, from ten to thirteen fathoms, the same kind of holding ground, and a better shelter from northerly and north-west winds. Ships not being able to beat into the cove of Muscat with southerly winds, may always stretch over to the westward, and anchor in that of Muttrah, from whence they may weigh with the land-wind, and come into Muscat at pleasure. Muttrah is less a place of business than Muscat, though there are more well-built houses in it, from its being a cooler and more agreeable residence, and, as such, a place of retreat for men of wealth. Provisions and refreshments for shipping may be had with equal ease from either of these places; indeed, the greater part of those brought to Muscat are said to come through Muttrah, from the country behind.* Meat, vegetables,

of one of these works, that is worth repeating. He says, 'There are now eight books of Sibylline verses extant, but they are universally reckoned spurious. They speak so plainly of our Saviour, of his sufferings, and of his death, as even to *surpass far* the sublime prediction of Isaiah in description; and therefore, *from this very circumstance*, it is *evident* that they were composed in the second century by some of the *followers of Christianity*, who wished to convince the heathens of their error, by assisting the cause of truth with the arms of PIOUS ARTIFICE!—*Lempriere's Class. Dict. art. Sibyllæ.*

If the eloquence of prophecy, or the correspondence of subsequent events with the facts predicted, render it evident that such predictions *must have been* composed AFTER the events predicted had really occurred, it is to be feared that the Sibylline legend of Coulan will rest on as slender a basis as those of the prophetic sisters of Greece and Italy: but such a doctrine, if admitted, would sap the foundations of even the sublime prophecies of Judea.

It was a common opinion among the ancients, that their great men and heroes, at their death, migrated into some star; in consequence of which they deified them. Julius Cæsar was canonized, because of a star that appeared at his death, into which they supposed he was gone.—*Virg. Eclogue*, 19. 47. *Horace*, lib. 1. ode 12. The wise men who came from the East to Jerusalem, thus exclaim, 'Where is he that is born King of the Jews? for we have seen *his* star in the East, and are come to worship him.—*Matt.* ii. 2. There is a passage in Virgil too, which implies that the gods sent stars to point out the way to their favourites in difficult and perplexed cases, and that the ancients called globes of fire appearing in the air, stars.—*Eneid*, ii. 692.

* Muttrah is mentioned at a very early period, as connected with Muscat, under the name

and fruit, are all abundant in their season, of excellent quality and low price; and fish are nowhere more plentiful or more delicious than here. The water also is pure, wholesome, and agreeable to the taste; it is brought from springs in the hills, and conducted into a reservoir at Muscat, from which a ship's casks may be filled in a few hours, if a sufficient number of hands be employed. This is more frequently done by large boats and people from the shore, than by the boats of the ships watering, and is found to be attended with conveniencies which more than overbalance so trifling an expense, being also much more expeditious. For ships having tanks, or wishing to fill their own casks on board, it is usual to send off water in bulk, in a large boat, filled at the reservoir; but this is found to affect the quality of the water materially, and should, if possible, be avoided. The boats themselves being frequently oiled on the inside to preserve the wood, this oil gives a peculiarly unpleasant taste to the water, which remains on it for many hours; the boats always leak a little also in their upper works, by which the sea-water is let in to mix with the fresh, and makes it quite brackish; and lastly, the men employed on this service, who are generally negro slaves, make no scruple to come from the shore with dirty feet, and to wash them in the boat; they plunge their perspiring bodies also into the water, remain in it to row off to the ship, immersed up to their middle,

of Matara. About the year 1580, when Philip the Second of Spain was admitted as King of Portugal, and obliged all the Portuguese in India to take the oath of allegiance to him, Muscat was still in their possession. There was at this time a certain Mir Azenam Pasha, a native of Otranto, and born of Christian parents, who was governor of all Yemen, in Arabia, and resided at Sana, the capital city of that province. Being desirous of plundering Muskat, Mir Azenam sent three Turkish gallies on that errand, under Ali Beg, who took possession of Muscat, whence most of the Portuguese residents saved themselves by flight, leaving their goods to be plundered by Ali Beg. The fugitives took refuge in Matara, a town only a league distant, whence they went to Bruxel, a fort about four leagues inland, belonging to Ceatani, the Sheikh or chief of a tribe or horde of Arabs. The Arab officer who commanded there, received the Portuguese with much kindness and hospitality, and protected them till the departure of Ali Beg, when they returned to Muskat.—*Manuel de Faria y Sousa*, part 2, b. 3, c. 4. s. 10. vol. 6, p. 460.

and even scrub and wash themselves in it before coming alongside, so as to leave all the filth and impurities of their skin behind them.' All these causes, though creating no perceptible difference in the appearance of the water at the time, need only be mentioned, to create an objection to this mode of receiving it on board, and to give a decided preference to filling it in the ship's casks.

It has been before observed, that it is usual for ships to moor in tiers at Muscat, or, if single, to ride head and stern, as there is no room in the inner part of the cove to swing. The best anchor, and the ship's head, should be to the northward, and the stern anchor to the southward. Neither in entering the harbour, nor in securing the ship, is any assistance now given by pilots of the port, nōr indeed is it at all necessary, as there are no dangers but those above water and in sight. It appears that formerly there was a Serang of the port, who moored the ships, and was allowed a fixed remuneration for it from the vessel brought in: but this is not usual now; though, if assistance were really wanted, or signals of distress made, they would no doubt be very promptly complied with. It should be added, that ships wishing to refit here, ought to be furnished with all the necessary materials on board; as naval stores of every description are scarce and dear, from their being altogether foreign produce. Ship-timber is brought to this port from Malabar; canvass from Bengal; coir from Africa and the Laccadive islands, and made into rope here; and anchors and all smaller stores, as well as guns and ammunition from Bombay. As the tide rises about five or six feet, light vessels may be hauled on shore at high-water, and careened, both at Muscat and at Muttrah; and there are shipwrights and caulkers sufficiently expert in their arts, to render any assistance that may be needed from them in that way. Deficiencies in ships' crews may also be made up by Arab sailors, who are always to be found here, and are unquestionably braver, hardier, and better seamen than the Lascars of India, though they are sometimes more difficult to be kept in order. On board their own large ships, even the names of the

masts, sails, and ropes, as well as the orders of command in evolutions, are, as in India, a mixture of Arabic, Persian, Hindee, Dutch, Portuguese, and English; so that the Hindoostanee of a country ship is quite intelligible to them all. Besides the terms common to the vessels of India, I remarked some here, which were evident remains of Portuguese domination, as 'Bandeira, Bussola, and Armada,' for flag, compass, and squadron; which are called in Hindoostanee, 'Bowta, Compaz, and Jhoond;' in Arabic, 'Beirak, Deira, and Singar;' and in Persian, 'Alum, Doora, and Sengar.'

Dec 5.—With a strong and favourable breeze, we left Muscat and continued our course in the Vestal, under all sail for Bombay, after parting with the Challenger, who remained at the former port. At noon we observed in lat. 24° 3′ north, and were in long. 58° 40′ east, with the visible extremes of the Arabian land very distant, from south half-east to south-south-west. At 5. 30. P. M. we opened a remarkable valley, or depression in the hills, called by sailors the Devil's Gap, and forming a conspicuous mark for navigators on this coast. It is in lat. about 23° 20′ north, and is distant nearly eleven leagues from Muscat, in a south-easterly direction, so that it serves to mark the approach to that port.

The coast of Arabia, from Ras-el-Had, near the entrance to the Persian Gulf, to Bab-el-Mandeb, at the entrance to the Red Sea, is very little known indeed to Europeans. I had occasion, in the year 1815, to make a voyage along a great part of it, in a ship belonging to a Mohammedan merchant, called by the orthodox name of 'Suffenut-ul-Russool,' or Messenger of the Prophet; during which I had an opportunity of verifying some positions, and adding to the illustrations of the ancient Periplus of the Erythrean Sea. Some of these, which relate more particularly to the eastern portions of the tract near Ras-el-Had, may therefore be appropriately introduced here, as belonging to the hydrographical illus-

trations of ancient history, which form so large a portion of this voyage through the Persian Gulf.

The position of Ras-el-Had, as the easternmost point of all Arabia, is most distinctly marked by the author of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, who, on describing the southern and south-eastern coast, after passing the islands of Zenobius and the larger one of Sarapis, or the islands of Curia-Muria, and Mazeira, says, that on approaching the Gulf of Persia, you here suddenly change your course to the *north.* This is literally true at Ras-el-Had, and nowhere else upon the coast; for Ras-el-Had is the extreme point east of all Arabia, as Korodamon is in Ptolemy. 'If I had found,' says Dr. Vincent, 'that the monsoon was divided by this cape, as it is by Gardefan, I should have sought for an etymology in Greek, as the *divider* or *subduer* of the west wind; but I can learn nothing of the monsoon: and *Corus*, notwithstanding its meaning in Latin, I cannot find as the name of a wind in Greek.* The name of this cape is written and pronounced راس الحدّ Ras-el-Hhadd, which, when written حدّ in Arabic, and حد in Persian, signifies in both languages, 'a boundary, a limit, a definition, distinction, an impediment, a check, a goal for racers,'—in all which senses, it would mean either the eastern 'boundary' or extent of Arabia, or, as is literally the case, the northern 'limit' of the monsoon, which ends the moment a ship gets round it, as it does at Gardefan: and thus the Greek etymology, as a *divider* or a *subduer* of the west wind, is perfectly consistent with its present Arabic name, and, what is of greater importance still, with the more marked and permanent features given to it by nature.

Beyond Ras-el-Had, to the westward, are the islands of Curia-Muria. Edrissi calls the bay in which these islands are situated, Giun-al-Hascisc,† (pronounced Hashish.) In another place he makes Hasec the city, and Al Hascisc the bay; and the principal town of the Periplus in this bay is Asikho, which is but

* Dissertation, vol. ii. p. 351. † Sinus Herbarum, Al Edrisi, p. 22.

another way of writing the same word.* The Curia-Muria Islands are called by Edrissi, Kartan-Martan; and Bochart has observed that, by a change of points only, this will be Kurian-Murian: as thus, قرتان Kurtan, قريان Kurian, (the points above the third letter making it a *t*, and below making it an *i*.) By Kurian-Murian would be meant the island of Kurian, and others around it: as it is common in Arabic, Persian, and Hindoostanee, when speaking of several things of the same or a similar kind, to add a word exactly like the name of the thing expressed, except its always beginning with an M, as Bundook-Mundook, for musket and all accoutrements thereto belonging; Barsun-Marsun, for plates and dishes, and all other table-ware;—which will be recollected by every one conversant with those languages. The islands of Curia-Muria are those to which the Arabian fable applies, which speaks of two islands, one inhabited by men, and the other by women. In Oriental geography, they are placed at a great distance to the south; but the origin of the fable is on the coast, and truly Arabian. Ptolemy makes these islands seven in number.†

Mazeira, which lies beyond this, is described by the author of the Periplus to have been in his time not under Arabian, but Persian jurisdiction, and the natives were then uncivilized. 'A vessel,' he says, 'after passing the coast, stands off to sea from the islands of Zenobius during a course of two thousand stadia, till she reaches the island of Sarapis, which lies one hundred and twenty stadia from the main. Sarapis is two hundred stadia in breadth, and divided into three districts, each of which has its village. The natives are held sacred, and are ikhtheiophagi; they speak the language of Arabia, and wear an apron of cocoa leaves. The produce of the island is tortoise-shell, of superior quality, in great

* From Moskha, (which is assumed to be Shahr,) the coast extends fifteen hundred stadia more to the district of Asikho, (the Hasek of Edrisi: Hasek means weedy, and the sea here is said to be so,) and at the termination of this tract lie the Seven Islands of Zenobius in succession, which correspond to the Curia-Muria.—*Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, vol. i. p. 92.

† Vincent's Dissertation, vol. ii. p. 347.

abundance, which the boats and small vessels from Kané come here regularly to purchase.' *

'From Sarapis,' he continues, 'the course is along the adjoining continent, till you arrive at Korodamon or Ras-el-Had, when it turns to the north, to the Gulf of Persia; and beyond this promontory, at the distance of two thousand stadia, lie the islands of Kalaioo, or Kalaias. These islands stretch along parallel to the coast, in distinct lines, and you may sail through them, or between them and the shore. The inhabitants are a treacherous race, and during daylight their sight is affected by the rays of the sun.'†

Dr. Vincent says, these are the islands called Swardi, a corruption of Sohar-di, or dive; this last syllable signifying, in some of the Indian languages, an island, and there being a port near, called Sohar, once as much frequented as Muscat now is, for the Indian trade. He supposes the original name of Kalaioo, or Kalaias, to be traced in Kalaiat, or Kalhat,‡ the name of the high land between Ras-el-Had and Muscat.

'Beyond these islands of Kalaioo,' continues the author of the Periplus, 'there is another group, called Papias, at the termination of which lies the Fair Mountain, not far from the en-

* Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, vol. i. p. 92, 93. † Ibid. p. 93.

‡ It would appear from the following narrative, that the town of Kalayat, seated in this district, was a place of some importance. The Portuguese general, Albuquerque, on his returning from the island of Socotra, where he had wintered in or about the year 1508, to Ormuz, in the Persian Gulf, was determined, on his way thither, to take revenge on the town of Kalayat, for some injury that had been done there to the Portuguese. Kalayat is situated on the coast of Arabia, beyond Cape Siagro, called also Rasalgat, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Behind this town there is a rugged mountain, in which are some passes which open a communication with the interior; and by one of these opposite the town, almost all the trade of Yemen, or Arabia Felix, which is a fertile country, of much trade and full of populous cities, is conveyed to this port. Immediately on his arrival, Albuquerque landed his troops and took possession of the town, most of the inhabitants escaping to the mountains, and some being slain in the streets. He remained here three nights, on one of which a thousand Moors entered the town by surprise, and did considerable damage before the Portuguese were collected to oppose them, but were at length put to flight with great slaughter. Having secured all the provisions of Kalayat, which was the principal booty, Albuquerque set the place on fire, and proceeded to Ormuz.—*Manuel de Faria y Sousa*, vol. xi. pp. 109, 119; part ii. b. 3. c. i s. 4.

trance of the Persian Gulf; and in that Gulf is the pearl fishery. At the straits which form the entrance into this sea, you have on the left that vast mountain called Sabo; and opposite to it, on the right, a lofty round mountain, which takes the name of Semiramis.'*

Dec. 6th.—The wind had gradually decreased in strength, though it still continued to blow from the north-westward, and was accompanied by clear and pleasant weather. On examining the supply of rice received from the Challenger before we parted with her, nearly the half of it was found to be unfit for use, and accordingly thrown overboard; so that we had now only enough provisions on board for a very short passage indeed. At noon we observed in lat. 23° 7′ north, long. 60° 30′ east, no land being in sight, the air being more sultry than we had yet felt it during the voyage.

Dec. 7th.—Light airs from the southward and eastward enabled us to make a few miles during the night; and we were partially assisted by a south-east current, as at noon we observed in lat. 23° 3′ north, and long. 61° 17′ east; the weather having now fallen calm, and continuing so until sun-set, when it was followed by variable airs from the eastern quarter.

Dec. 8th.—A dead calm still continued throughout the morning; but we had now felt the influence of a north-east current, as our meridian altitude of the sun gave us a latitude of 23° 22′ north, and our longitude, per chronometer, was at the same time 61° 32′ east. Soon after noon a breeze freshened up from the south-south-west, to which we made all sail on an east-south-east course, going about thirty-five miles before midnight, as the breeze gradually freshened.

Dec. 9th.—Still moderate breezes from the south-south-west, and a smooth sea. Tropic birds were seen for the first time to-day, and flying-fish of a small size: a shark, of nine feet in length, and six in width around the head, was also taken, and afforded great diversion as well as a fresh supply of food for the crew, among whom it was equally divided. At noon we observed in lat. 23° 15′

* Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, vol. i. p. 93.

north, and were in long. 62° 48′ east, with light western airs and fine weather. Soon afterwards the wind veered southerly, and continued so, without interruption to our course, throughout the remainder of the day.

Dec. 10th.—The southerly airs had now drawn round to the south-east, and obliged us to haul close on a wind, in order to make all the easting we could before we reached the limits of the north-east monsoon; but the wind still continued very light. At noon we observed in lat. 23° 20′ north, and were in long. 63° 33′ east, the breezes being now from the south-south-west, but with a squally and unsettled appearance, and the winds flying all round the compass between noon and midnight.

Dec. 11th.—The wind had set in from the north-north-west before daybreak, and as it freshened, it drew round to east, the weather being dark and threatening. At sun-rise we had severe squalls from the east-south-east, with heavy rain; and these settled into a fixed gale from that quarter, which obliged us to send the royal-yards and masts on deck, and treble-reef the topsails. As there was at the same time a very heavy sea, we could not lie higher than south, looking up at intervals a point to windward. At noon we were in lat. 22° 40′ north, and long. 64° 45′ east, and now considered ourselves as having entered on the edge of the north-east monsoon, which prevails in the Arabian Sea from the month of September to May or June following, or nearly three-fourths of the whole year. We had here found it blowing strong from east-south-east to east-north-east, accompanied with squalls and a heavy sea, owing undoubtedly to our having the Gulf of Cutch, which lies in that direction, broad upon our weather beam; but it is known to draw more northerly, as the conformation of the land favours that direction, as well as to incline that way towards the close of the season; since in our passage from the Red Sea to Bombay, in the Suffenut-el-Russool, in March and April, we had the wind from north to north-north-west, at the close of our voyage, near the Indian coast.

The wind continued a fresh gale throughout the day, but the sky grew clearer aloft towards night. As it still came in squalls, however, of considerable violence while they lasted, and the sea had not abated, we close-reefed, and made the ship snug.

Dec. 12th.—The morning opened with a clear sky, but the wind was still fixed at east-north-east, the Gulf of Cutch being still open to us, and the swell of the sea high, though more regular than before. During the forenoon we had an opportunity of taking a set of lunar distances for confirming our longitude by chronometer; and the mean of two sets and three single sights, alternately taken by the commander and myself, gave us a longitude of 65° 27′ east, at nine A.M. At noon we observed in lat. 21° 23′ north, and were in long. 65° 42′ east, by chronometer; which was a sufficiently near agreement with the lunar distance to prove the accuracy of both, differing only ten miles in their results, when the reckoning was brought up at noon.

We had perceived some regularity in the periods of the ship's coming up and falling off, which, as she was always close-hauled, seemed to prove a diurnal and nocturnal change, influenced most probably in this slight degree by the land and sea-breezes which prevail along the western coast of India, Guzerat, and Scind during these months. In the evening the boatswain of the ship, who had been ill of a relapse into fever, from intemperance, and had been confined to his cabin for a few days only, died without pain, in the flower of his age.

Dec. 13th.—The morning presented us with the same unfavourable wind as before, with which we could not keep our course for Bombay. In consequence of the wind still hanging so far easterly, and our having on board only six days' provisions for the crew, it was thought necessary to reduce all hands to half allowance, until a prospect was afforded of our being able to reach some port of the coast of Malabar, where we might refresh.

The body of the boatswain, being opened by the surgeon of the

ship, was found to have the kidneys greatly enlarged, the bowels ulcerated all over, and the liver almost destroyed,—all of which were the effects of hard drinking, to which this young man was dreadfully addicted. On being sewn up, his corpse was carefully washed and dressed in clean linen by his shipmates; and being wrapped up in a hammock, with two cannon-balls at his feet for sinking, the funeral service was read over him, to which all attended with due decorum, and his remains were committed to the deep.

This ceremony had scarcely been ended, before a report was brought up of the death of a marine, who had been sent on board sick from the Challenger, to be taken to the hospital at Bombay. This man, whose name was Edward Lyon, was of a good family, and in his youth had run through a fortune, in premature debauchery. The efforts of his friends to reclaim him had been so often tried and disappointed, that they at length abandoned him to his fate; and after passing by degrees into the lowest walks of life, the ranks of the marine corps brought him up, and he became fixed in the waist of a man-of-war. Among his relatives, he had a brother a rear-admiral in the British Navy, and a sister married to the captain of the Leander of fifty guns; but he had not now a being near him to close his eyes, or even the common feelings of a messmate drawn forth to pity his untimely end. These last offices of humanity were performed by strangers, who were neither moved by his history, nor warned by his fate. His body was also opened by the surgeon, and found to be affected nearly in the same way as that of the boatswain, and from the same causes. The funeral service was read over his corpse, which was secured in the usual way, and committed to the deep.

Our lunar distances were again repeated before noon, and the mean of their results gave a longitude of 66° 51′ east, at ten A.M., when at noon we observed in latitude 20° 24′ north, and were in longitude 67° 3′ east, by chronometer.

We still observed the regularity of the ship's coming up and falling off at intervals of about twelve hours, with a freshening and moderating of the wind between the changes, exactly as in the land and sea-breezes along-shore. We began to come up at noon from south-south-east gradually to east-north-east at sun-set, and east about ten o'clock, the period of the sea-breeze, when the wind of the ocean here followed its direction in a slight degree, and was thus drawn more northerly, or less off the land, than the monsoon, without such influence, would have been. After midnight we again began to fall off in the same gradual way from east to south-east until past sun-rise, when the winds blew from the east-north-east, evidently influenced by the land-breezes which blow off during that period; a variation highly favourable, if taken due advantage of, to the navigation of this sea, particularly when approaching the Indian coast from the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf.

Dec. 14th.—As we closed in the Gulf of Cutch, we found the heavy eastern swell setting out of it, now exchanged for smoother water, and its violent squalls for steady though still fresh breezes. The wind too became more favourable, as its variation through the day and night was from north-east to north-north east, enabling us to lie east-south-east when most off, and to come up to east for an equal space of time. This circumstance, as it brightened our hopes of a less tedious passage than we had prepared for, admitted of an additional allowance of provisions to the crew, before they began to suffer from its first reduction.

Before noon, our lunar distances were repeated, and a mean of one set of three-sights, and a single one, taken alternately by the commander and myself, as before, gave us a longitude of 68° 23′ east at ten A.M., when our observation at noon made us in latitude 19° 40′ north, and longitude 68° 32′ east, by chronometer. As we advanced in a south-east line, we found the weather more and more steady, the winds more moderate in their force, and the water smoother.

DEC. 15th. — Being now completely under the lee of the Guzerat coast, we had smoother water than we had yet found, with the winds steady from the north-north-east, so as to admit of our steering east by south, with the fore-topmast studding-sail set. The weather being fine, we sent up the royal-masts and yards, and bent the light sails again; and as the prospect of a speedy termination to our voyage brightened every hour, the crew were restored to their full allowance of provisions and water.

At noon we observed in latitude 19° 24′ north, and were in longitude 70° 30′ east, when we hove to, and obtained soundings in forty-five fathoms on the Bombay bank. A yellow sea-snake had been already seen by one of the officers, the sure mark of our approach to shoaler water; and the colour of the sea was of a greener cast than in the deep ocean. At sun-set we had the same soundings as at noon, on fine grey sand; and, with a fine breeze from the north-north-east, and smooth water, we stood on east throughout the night.

DEC. 16th. — As we opened the Gulf of Bombay, we had the wind from out of it in a more northerly direction, which enabled us to set all the flying-sails and keep the ship free. At midnight we had forty fathoms, at four A.M. thirty-nine, and at sun-rise thirty-eight, the water now of a pale dull green. At seven A.M. the land was reported from the mast-head; and at nine we made it distinctly from the deck, the Peak of Bassein then bearing east by north, distant fifty or sixty miles, and soundings in twenty-five fathoms on fine sand.

We now bore up east by south half-south, and having a commanding breeze, with all sail set, we rose the land rapidly. After the high land of Bassein, and its remarkable peak, being the summit of a conical mountain of the Mahratta country, was seen, we next distinguished the piece of land called the Neat's Tongue, a portion of the island of Salsette, so named from a supposed resemblance to a tongue; though a wedge would be an equally illustrative com-

parison, it being high at its north-western end, and sloping down gradually at its south-eastern one. The two islands called the Great and Little Caringa, within Bombay harbour, next developed themselves, with the Funnel-hill and the high land of Tull Point, forming the southern boundary of the entrance to the port,—all remarkable lands, and constantly referred to as sea-marks.

We obtained, by casts of the lead, at intervals of two hours, from sun-rise until noon, the depths of twenty-four, twenty-two, and twenty fathoms; and observing then in lat. 19° 0′ north, and long. 72° 31′ east, we had the Neat's Tongue bearing due east, distant apparently from twenty-five to thirty miles.

At one P. M. still sailing at the rate of six knots, on an east-south-east course, the summit of the island of Elephanta, which is within the harbour of Bombay, began to appear over that island; and soon afterwards the trees on Malabar point, looking like vessels at anchor, for which they were first taken. The island of Bombay then gradually rose, and white houses appeared in the back bay, looking like boats under sail, with the lofty flag-staff on the hill of Malabar point. It is said that, when the summit of Elephanta becomes visible from the deck, the light-house on Coulaba can be perceived from the topsail-yard; and when the trees of the island of Bombay, and the flag-staff of Malabar point appear, it may then be seen from the deck.

It was about half-past one o'clock when we just distinguished the summit of the light-house, rising above the water, a little to the northward of the northern brow of the Great Caringa. Soon afterwards, a gun discharged there, announced the appearance of a ship in sight, which was followed by a flag at Malabar point, denoting the description of vessel, and marking the quarter from which she was approaching. The signal of our number being displayed, was then repeated by the flag-staff at Coulaba, and the name of the ship was thus speedily made known to the marine authorities of the Island.

As we approached still on an east-south-east course, the lead was discontinued, the weather being clear, and the marks now a better guide than soundings. Standing on until the light-house was in one with Browton's Grove, with the flag-staff of Bombay, and with the highest part of the Neat's Tongue, all at one time, we were then right off the pitch of the south-west prong, which extends nearly three miles in that direction off the light-house, from which we were then distant about three miles and a half, or half a mile to the southward of the pitch of the prong, in seven fathoms water. A good mark for the clear passage along this reef is the Funnel Hill, just touching in one with the northern brow of Great Caringa, on which is an old Portuguese convent; but this is not seen in thick weather.

Having the marks described in one, we hauled close round the south-west prong, steering north-east by east, and bringing a small low island, with a beacon on it, called the Oyster Rock, nearly on with the square steeple of Bombay church, keeping the church still a little open to the westward of the beacon, in order to clear the outer edge of the south-east prong. We might have shaped a course of north-east by north, for the buoy of the Sunken Rock, if the wind had been free, and from thence gained the anchorage; but the wind heading us off from the northward, we were obliged to beat up the harbour by short tacks, in which we were favoured by the young flood-tide, and anchored in safety before sun-set.

I repaired instantly to the shore, and met a cordial welcome from the friends whom I had left here about twelve months before, on my voyage to Suez, by the Red Sea; since which I had traversed nearly the whole of Arabia, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Assyria, Media, and Persia: and therefore had much to relate; while my complexion had been so changed by the scorching heats of the Desert, and my full dark beard and Oriental garments had become so much a part of myself,

that some time was necessary before those whom I had originally known under a very different appearance, could be quite reconciled to the change which we both experienced at our meeting. This meeting was, however, one of great and mutual gratification, which I shall long continue to remember with pleasure.

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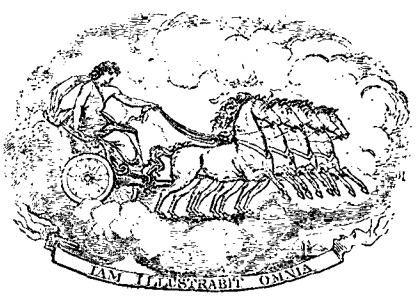

LONDON:
PRINTED BY S. AND R. BENTLEY,
Dorset Street, Fleet Street.

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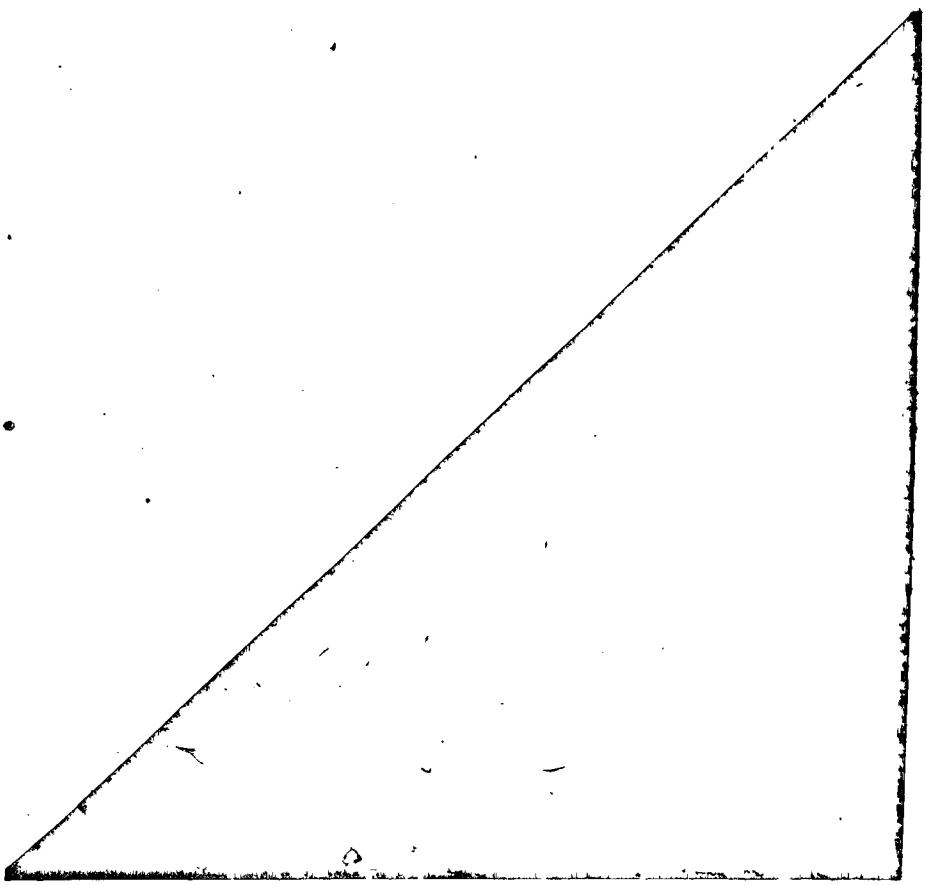

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